

THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION



KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

2005



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THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN
WESTERN CIVILIZATION



From Cicero to Hadrian

First English Edition, 2005

Published by **Oak Knoll Press**

310 Delaware Street, New Castle, Delaware, USA

Web: <http://www.oakknoll.com>

and

HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV

Tuurdijk 16, 3997 MS 't Goy-Houten, The Netherlands

Web: <http://www.hesdegraaf.com>

and

Kotinos Publications, Aravantinou 10, Athens, Greece

e-mail: kotinos@libraries.gr

ISBN: 1-58456-148-3 (USA)

ISBN: 90-6194-349-3 (EUROPE)

Title: The History of the Library in Western Civilization -
From Cicero to Hadrian

Author: Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

Translation from the original Greek: Timothy Cullen

Editor: K. Sp. Staikos

Printer: Petros Balidis, Athens, Greece

Photographic Editor: Socrates Mavrommatis

Publishing Director: J. Lewis von Hoelle

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Staikos, K.

History of the Library in Western Civilization-Volume II

From Cicero to Hadrian /

Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-58456-148-3; ISBN 90-6194-349-3

1. Libraries – Roman – History – 200 AD. Books – Roman – History – 200 AD.

Z722.S73 2005

027.038-dc22

Library
University of Texas
at San Antonio

2003058221

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Oak Knoll Press, 310 Delaware Street, New Castle, DE 19720, USA.

Web: <http://www.oakknoll.com>

This work was printed in Athens, Greece, on Garda matt 135 gsm archival, acid-free paper meeting the requirements of the American Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION



FROM CICERO TO HADRIAN

*The Roman World
from the Beginnings
of Latin Literature
to the Monumental and
Private Libraries of the Empire*

II

KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

Translated by
TIMOTHY CULLEN

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HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV
KOTINOS
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Acknowledgements

In writing this second volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization* I was fortunate enough to have the wholehearted assistance and support of my good friend Nikos Petrocheilos. Not only did he read the whole book, translate passages from Latin and give me expert advice and helpful suggestions, but in addition his profound knowledge of the history of Roman literature gave me the necessary assurance to put my own opinions down on paper. Another valuable contribution to the work was made by Charalambos Bouras, who was kind enough to read through the chapters dealing with architectural matters and suggest a number of improvements to the text.

I am most grateful to Dimitris Pandermalis for allowing me to publish material about a building at Dion that was probably used as a library, and to Yanna Tinginaga, who most obligingly lent me her original drawings for the reconstruction of Hadrian's Library and allowed them to be used in this book. A debt of thanks is also owed to Konstantinos Zachos for his helpful advice on the bibliography of the area around Buthrotum, for my research on the Villa Amalthea, and for other suggestions relating to the topic; and to Georgios Spyropoulos for the material he gave me concerning Herodes Atticus's villa at Eua, Kynouria. I should mention, too, the support and assistance I received in my bibliographical researches from my friend Evi Touloupa – as always – and from Alkistis Spetsieri-Choremi and Martin Kreeb. To all of them I am glad to express my thanks once again in print. Last but not least, I must express once again my great debt of gratitude to John von Hoelle, Publishing Director of the Oak Knoll Press, for the unfailing assistance and support he has given in so many ways to the enormous undertaking of producing this five-volume series.

*Allow me to tell you that ... I have effected a
reconciliation with my old friends, I mean my books....
They pardon me: they recall me to our old intimacy.*

Cicero, *Ad fam.* IX.1.2

Preface

In this second volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization, From Cicero to Hadrian*, I have tried to pinpoint the circumstances and mechanisms that led the Romans to form their first private and public libraries, using the evidence provided by extant works of Latin literature. Up to about the middle of the second century B.C. we have no references to specific book collections, but the facts speak for themselves. Livius Andronicus's initiative of producing a Latin adaptation of the *Odyssey*, which marks the beginning of Latin literature, leaves us in no doubt that this *magnum opus* was based on his reading of Greek and Latin books, probably his own copies.

As the Romans pressed on with their conquering march into the south of Italy, bringing under their control several important centres of Hellenism in Magna Graecia, a great many papyrus books were taken back to Rome as spoils of war. Meanwhile Greek writers and grammarians started pouring northwards from southern Italy to Rome, where they established friendly relations with eminent Romans and formed the first scholarly circles. One of the characteristics of this process was the drive to transform the rough, unpolished speech of the Romans into something comparable with the elegance of Greek prose. Ennius, the greatest luminary of this movement, was the moving spirit behind the creation of Rome's first public cultural centre in the Temple of Hercules and the Muses: this institution, known as the Museum or House of the Muses, contained a collection of books. Not content with paying homage in his own work to his Classical Greek and Hellenistic originals, Ennius set out to associate his name with Roman literature through the

medium of the Pythagorean tradition. His self-belief was such that he considered himself to be a reincarnation of Homer, and in this way he signalled the continuity of the Greek tradition as well as the birth of a new tradition in every area of Latin literature.

A movement that transformed the intellectual and cultural map of Rome from the middle of the second century B.C. and assumed the dimensions of a veritable invasion, similar to that of the Sophists in Athens from the time of Socrates onwards, was the widespread shift towards private education, in which the *grammatici* played a large part. The *grammatici* were no mere grammarians: like the rhetoricians, they were teachers, and they were instrumental in promoting the spread of Greek and Latin literature. Since their teaching was centred on the written word, they acquired fine collections of rare books that were not easily obtainable, and they made every effort to convince their listeners in every walk of life of the importance of books in the pursuit of learning. This trend was given its initial impetus by Crates of Mallus, who lived in Rome for a time from 168 B.C. and opened his own school there. The picture of Roman intellectual life that emerges from the life stories of the *grammatici* is of a city where, for the first time, books were seen not only as educational aids but also as steps forward in the history of Roman literature. Besides teaching in the twenty or more schools that existed in the final decades of the second century B.C., the *grammatici* wrote books of their own – commentaries on and catalogues of theatrical works by early playwrights – and edited and emended unpublished works that had been long forgotten.

The tendency to adopt Greek ways, noticeable throughout the second century B.C., was also apparent in the philhellenic circles of the aristocracy, such as the Scipionic circle, whose members – both Greek and Roman – considered that the Greek attitude to learning (*humanitas*) should be integral

to the education and culture of intellectuals generally. The trend was exemplified by Aemilius Paullus, who gave his sons the great library of the Macedonian kings after his victory over Perseus, at the same time providing them with the best Greek teachers to ensure that they would gain the maximum benefit from it. It seems likely, too, that that library played an important part in the lives of Roman philhellenes by supplying well-educated readers with works of Greek literature hitherto unfamiliar even to intellectuals in Rome; and some of the books from there finally came to rest in the city's first public library in or about 39 B.C., through the efforts of Gaius Asinius Pollio.

The person who unquestionably epitomized the outlook, interests and general way of life of a Roman aristocrat in the early first century B.C. was Lucullus. Having amassed fabulous wealth from his campaigns in the East against Mithradates VI, King of Pontus, apparently including part of that monarch's private library, Lucullus turned one of his villas – at Tusculum – into a sort of academy. He was profoundly influenced by the Hellenistic way of life and imbued with the ideas of the Epicurean school of philosophy, and he firmly believed that the spiritual and material sides of civilization were inseparably linked. Athenaeus associated his name with the beginning of the Roman love of voluptuous living and Plutarch went so far as to compare his way of life with 'an ancient Attic comedy', but at the same time Lucullus was an insatiable collector of 'well written' books and his villa, said to resemble an open museum, became a haven for all Greek votaries of the Muses.

It need hardly be said that learning did not confer inviolability on its possessors: scholars and men of letters were subject to censorship, especially under the Empire, which deprived them of the security and peace of mind they longed for. As early as 173 B.C. the Epicureans Alcaeus and Philiscus were expelled from Rome, and not much more than ten years later, in 161, teachers of rhetoric and philosophy were banned

from living in the city. Then in 155 B.C. the delegation of philosophers sent from Athens, consisting of Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes of the Stoa and Critolaus of the Peripatetic school, was ordered to leave Rome. *Grammatici* and writers who moved in court circles were pilloried and driven to take their own lives, or were banished: Servius Claudius, for instance, went into exile in Athens. Finally, in the first century A.D., Domitian expelled all philosophers from Rome and the whole of Italy for the last time, and several decades elapsed before Hadrian, with his strong philhellenic sentiments, again made them welcome.

While it is true that great libraries were broken up during the Romans' all-conquering campaigns in the south and east – notable examples being those at Syracuse and Carthage, from which the only work to escape destruction was a book by Mago – the same also occurred during the civil wars when the Republic was in its death throes. It was no accident that Varro, who can unhesitatingly be described as the first of the great Roman bibliophiles, was put in charge of planning and organizing the first public library. Having written numerous educative works, biographies, books on language, philosophy, science and epistemology, he had acquired a thorough mastery of the entire Roman literary tradition and much else besides. In the seclusion of his villa, where he lived the life of an 'aristocratic anchorite', he worked incessantly at gathering material of any kind that might illuminate the lives and works of the pioneers of Latin prose and verse. When he was proscribed by Antony, however, although he himself escaped death his library was broken up and many works, including his own *De bibliothecis*, were lost forever.

But the person who truly altered the landscape of Roman bibliology, at a time when there were no bookshops nor even rudimentary scriptoria, was Cicero. Here was a man capable of challenging Rome's cultural dependence on the great centres of learning in the Greek world, an insatiable lover of

books and of anything that broadened the mind, who was fortunate enough to have books in all seven of his villas as well as his luxurious town house on the Palatine. Yet Cicero was not alone in his exploration of the world of books, for in his striving to find documentary backing for his intellectual and philosophical inquiries he had a mentor who was a passionate book-lover and aesthete with a mastery of both languages: Titus Pomponius Atticus. The two of them bridged the gap between East and West, fused the Greek with the Roman genius and opened up a 'Book Road' that was to remain in use for centuries. The extant portion of the correspondence between them (*Letters to Atticus*) covers the period from 68 to 44 B.C., a period of seething political intrigue and constantly-shifting alliances between the 'strong men' of Rome, which made life extremely hazardous not only for all politicians but for all scholars and men of letters too.

Atticus chose to go into voluntary exile and went to live in the area of western Greece between Apollonia and Buthrotum, basing himself at his fabled villa, the Amalthea or Amaltheum, at Chaonia; he also spent long periods in Athens. Cicero, on the other hand, combined his political responsibilities and ambitions with his activity as a writer and collector of books. Atticus, who had access to historic libraries in Athens, was in a position to supply Cicero with books that were hard to find in Rome and sometimes hitherto unknown to the Romans, so that Cicero could be sure his writings were as accurate and reliable as he wanted them to be. Atticus also published some of his own books on the Athenian market, having them copied in a scriptorium that he set up in one of his houses. The correspondence between these two men presents a unique picture of book purchasing and publishing in the Greek as well as the Roman world. The reality of this book-centred life is something we can never know, but we should not forget that Tyrannio the Elder, a freedman who was at home in the circles of Faustus Sulla and Cicero, managed to amass a library of 30,000 papyrus rolls.

From the earliest years of the Empire, the rise of Augustus to a position of omnipotence ushered in a new age in which civil war was a thing of the past, but he did not guarantee the intellectual freedom and security so necessary to every creative writer and thinker. His appointment of Maecenas as ‘Minister of Culture’ may have helped to maintain a balance between the tendency towards imperial censorship and a ‘programmatically’ literature that was expressly or implicitly flattering to Augustus himself, but the major poets discreetly distanced themselves from that environment. Horace retreated to the villa given to him by Maecenas, Virgil stipulated in his will that the *Aeneid* was never to be published, and Ovid was exiled to Tomi. On the other hand, Augustus’s dream of providing Rome with a public library did at last come to fruition. Pollio, using the spoils he had brought back from the war with the Parthians, established the first Roman public library in the Atrium Libertatis, probably with the help of Varro himself. Augustus, too, in yet another attempt to link the fate of Rome with his imperial title, commissioned an ‘authentic’ recension of the scattered Sibylline writings which he sealed in gilt caskets and deposited them in the Temple of Apollo. As the *de facto* custodian of learning and a priest of Apollo, he did not rest content with Pollio’s library but built another in the palace grounds, and not long afterwards he gave his consent to the construction of the bilingual library in the Porticus Octaviae.

Until Nero’s death, which marked the end of the age of the Caesars, little or no change took place in the Romans’ intellectual life and book trade. Ostensibly the emperors granted high-level patronage to poets and prose writers, but quite often they turned against them on the slightest pretext and condemned them to disgrace, exile or death. Tiberius passed the death sentence on two minor poets, Aelius Saturninus and Sextius Paconianus, on the grounds that they had defamed him in their poems. Caligula had a writer of Atellan farces burnt alive in the arena because of an ambiguous line he had

written, and once, in a paroxysm of rage, he even thought of destroying the poems of Homer, arguing that this was what Plato had implied when he excluded Homer from his ideal republic.

Even so, it is no exaggeration to speak of a revolution in the world of books under the Caesars. Not only did more and more libraries spring up on the Palatine, but *recitationes* – public or semi-public readings of passages from new works by their authors, a practice instituted by Pollio – became the height of fashion. *Recitationes*, which may fairly be described as pre-publication ‘publicity stunts’, were not favoured by Horace, who heartily advised writers hoping to be published to show their work to competent critics first, to re-read and revise it after nine years, and only then to publish it. Yet there were a great many aspiring writers who did all they could to make an impact on the Roman reading public and hoped to lend weight to their writings by reading excerpts to large audiences that included members of the aristocracy and sometimes even the Emperor himself. Augustus used to sit patiently through these public readings; and Tiberius, by openly expressing his liking for the poems of Rhianus and Parthenius, gave rise to a genre of ‘programmatic literature’. Serious poets remained aloof from *recitationes*, however, and Horace gently poked fun at that side of Roman intellectual life: ‘I am not one who, listening to “noble writers” and taking my revenge, deign to court the tribes of lecturing professors. “Hence those tears.” ... I am ashamed to recite my worthless writings in your crowded halls, and give undue weight to trifles.’

The public and imperial libraries of Rome, together with the libraries attached to fora and bathing establishments, which came into being from Nero’s reign onwards, altered the bibliological landscape. One result of this imperial initiative was to create a new generation of so-called ‘authors’ and plagiarists, who hoped that their work would win them

recognition in their lifetime and immortality thereafter and whose activities boosted the business of booksellers and publishers. Bookshops and commercial publishers gradually gained control of book production and established regular business relationships with authors, promising to win them fame and to make their books known in the farthest corners of the vast Roman Empire. However, although we do know the names of a number of bookseller-publishers such as the Sosii, Tryphon and Atrectus, there is no enlightening information about the terms of their relationships with writers to be had from any extant source, apart from the gloomy pictures painted by Martial and Horace of the fate that awaits their books from the moment they fall into the booksellers' hands. The sources are equally silent about the standard practices of library management with regard to such matters as the procedure of book production, the acquisition of books, the status of libraries (whether or not they allowed borrowing), the number of copies they held of each title, and so on.

The efforts of successive emperors from Nero onwards to establish Rome as the intellectual as well as political centre of the Empire did create the conditions for the creation of a library to rival the Ptolemies' library in Alexandria, but it is extremely doubtful whether that actually came to pass. After the great conflagration that ravaged Rome in A.D. 83, Domitian was obliged to send a team of experts to Alexandria to make new copies of the books that had been burnt.

But the Roman literary scene did not consist solely of imperial libraries and others attached to fora and thermae. There were in addition large numbers of private libraries in the huge villas of the aristocracy, most of them situated between the area just north of Rome and the Bay of Naples. The Villa of the Papyri belonging to Calpurnius Piso, where about eight hundred carbonized papyrus rolls with writings by philosophers in Philodemus's circle, gives us at least a faint idea of the Roman *modus vivendi*.

Trajan's expansionary designs on the East and Hadrian's philhellenism signalled a policy shift in favour of decentralization from Rome. From Dyrrhachium to Thamugadi, more and more independent libraries were built, as well as others attached to schools and healing centres, and the members of the local Roman aristocracy strove to maintain their autonomy on the cultural as well as the political plane. For our knowledge of this bibliological material we are indebted to inscriptions, passages and passing references in literature and archaeological finds. The Library of Celsus was built at Ephesus in Trajan's reign, while his successor chose Athens as the site of the greatest autonomous and imposing book centre in the ancient world: Hadrian's Library. By the early part of the fourth century, according to Publius Victor, there were thirty public libraries in Rome, and there is every reason to believe that in the eastern provinces and the Greek kingdoms there was no city that did not have a school library, a medical library, a public library, a palace library or a library of some other sort.

Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

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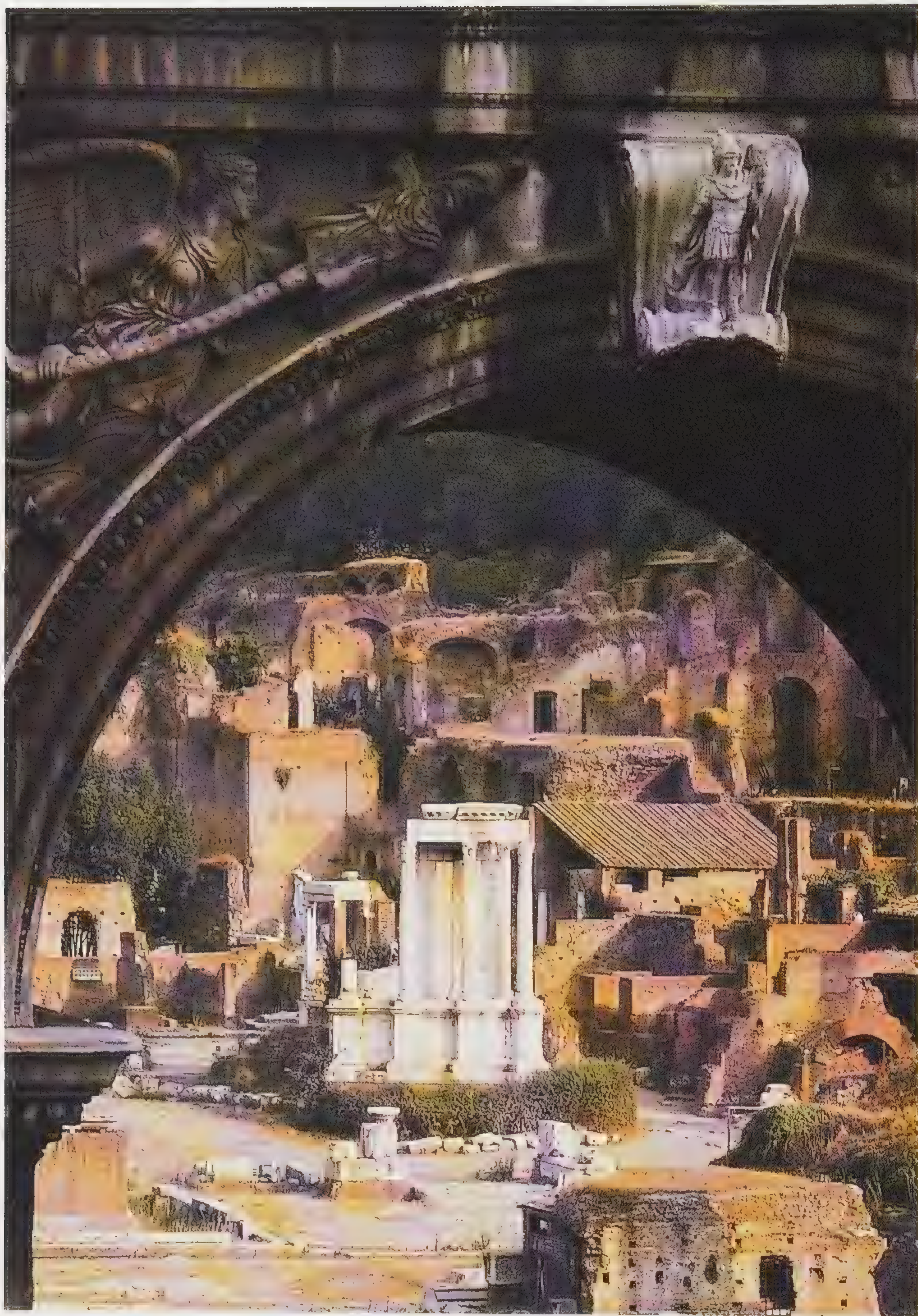
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I

THE GREEK FOUNDATIONS
OF
ROMAN CIVILIZATION



THE GREEK FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION

Myths and traditions concerning the development of early Latin literature

From the Hellenistic to the Roman world of books. The existence of a real 'book culture' in Rome can be said to date from 47 B.C., when Julius Caesar captured Alexandria and went on to annexe the whole of Egypt to the Roman Empire, bringing down the last great kingdom of the *diadochi* (the successors of Alexander the Great). It was after that turning-point in history that the first public libraries were founded in Rome. As was the case with so many other cultural practices, it was from the Greeks that the Romans borrowed both the type and form of their books – that is the papyrus roll, on which the great majority of works of Latin literature were written – and the architectural typology of their public libraries.

Unfortunately, even though hundreds of thousands of Greek papyrus books were produced in the various centres of Hellenism between the middle of the fourth century and the end of the second century B.C., little is known about the system whereby most of those books were published and distributed to the reading public. That is mainly because writing and literary studies in the Classical and Hellenistic periods were characterized by academicism and patronage, as the leading philosophers, poets and grammarians – as well as men of letters, scientists and scholars generally – were attached either to philosophy schools such as the Lyceum, the Academy and the Stoa or to royal institutions such as the Museum in Alexandria and the Pergamum and Antioch libraries. But in the Roman world (a term used here to mean the territories under Roman control or influence from the third century B.C. to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.) the methods of book production and distribution, 'publishing practice', the promotion of literature and the factors that determined the nature of certain writings all differed significantly from the publishing philosophy prevailing in the Greek world.

Yet even with regard to the Roman world the available evidence concern-

*Book publishing
in the Hellenistic
and Roman periods*

1. View of the Forum Romanum from the Arch of Titus, with the ruins on the Palatine Hill in the background.

ing publishing practice and the organization of the book trade is fragmentary and sporadic. This is true even of the period when Ovid and Martial were writing (1st c. B.C.), when the prodigious growth of literary output makes it possible to speak in terms of 'world literature', especially considering that both those poets implied that their readers included book-lovers from Britain to the Black Sea.¹ Consequently, any generalization based on the data available, most of it relating to the period of the Empire – and one such generalization is that we should be circumspect and sceptical about the real nature of the book trade – will be unreliable. But it is an indisputable fact that many great public and private libraries were founded in the Roman period, the majority of them in Rome itself. It is also beyond question that the earliest literary circles, which came into being there from the mid second century B.C., congregated around collections of books brought to Rome as spoils of war following the victorious campaigns against Greek kings.

It is certainly true that new customs relating to books were adopted in the Roman world: the protection of intellectual property demanded by established or aspiring authors from Augustus's reign onwards, the practice of public *recitatio* as a first step on the road to publication and a surer way of achieving recognition and 'programmatic literature' were all hitherto unknown in the Greek world: they were innovations in the production and marketing of literary works and other books.² However, although we know that not only bookshops but also editing, copying and publishing centres existed in Rome and some places in the provinces from Cicero's time (as mentioned by Horace and Martial), we have very little evidence as to their legal status. For example, we do not know what business arrangements existed between writers and their bookseller/publishers, nor what role the publishers played in supplying books to the monumental libraries of Rome or to other libraries in the centres of learning scattered throughout the territories under Roman rule – and we have to remember that in the fourth century A.D. there were twenty-nine public libraries in Rome alone,³ while the surviving ruins of libraries in various parts of the Roman Empire attest to the large number of books they contained: Hadrian's Library in Athens, the Library of Celsus in Ephesus and Augustus's library in Alexandria are cases in point.⁴ However, factual records and oblique allusions make it possible to trace the course of the 'Book Road' between the old Greek world and the Roman world and to infer the existence of other routes leading to centres of the book trade in the farthest corners of the Roman Empire.⁵

Cicero's letters to Atticus make it clear that the practice of forming a private library was already well-developed among the patricians of Rome in the first century B.C., and it also tells us about the organization of the book trade not only in Rome but in many other cities that served Roman interests. From this voluminous correspondence we also learn about the vital part played by Greeks, as library directors, readers and librarians, in establishing the high reputation first of private and later of public libraries. Cicero had no less than seven private libraries, one in each of his villas (at Arpinum, Tusculum, Antium, Formiae, Pompeii and elsewhere). From about that time it appears to have become standard practice for every Roman patrician and intellectual to have a library worthy of his rank and standing in a room of its own in his villa, perhaps as a status symbol.

Another institution conducive to the formation of private 'double libraries' (*diplobibliothecae*), that is bilingual libraries containing works of both Greek and Latin literature, was the Roman educational system. The most striking feature of education in the Roman world was its extreme conservatism, which persisted despite the efforts of Cicero and Quintilian to make it more 'liberal'. Even in the fifth century A.D. Roman schools were still organized on the model of schools of the Hellenistic period and the pupils were taught Greek and Latin on an equal footing: 'You should be equipped with both our languages,' Emperor Claudius once remarked to a foreigner.⁶ Pupils who won prizes in their written examinations were often given rare books or books of high intrinsic value, and so at an early age they became aware of the importance of having a private library and of how a library could help to broaden their general knowledge.⁷

We should also bear in mind that not only did wealthy Romans generally send their sons to Greece (usually to Athens, later also to Rhodes) for further studies, but from the mid second century B.C. there were numerous Greek rhetoricians and philosophers living and working in Rome, where they opened private schools and formed literary coteries, and many of them had good libraries of Greek books. They included Livius Andronicus, Quintus Caecilius Epirota, Lucius Crassicius Pasicles of Tarentum, Tyrannio, Crates of Mallus, Lucius Ateius Praetextatus (surnamed Philologus) and Scribonius Aphrodisius, among many others. So, when Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus decided in 168 B.C. to give his sons the books he had taken as spoils from the Macedonian royal library at Pella, we can assume that this was no mere symbolic gesture but a practical service, as it would provide backing not only for his sons'

education but for the further reading of a wider public. Later, as we shall see, that fine collection of books was to be the nucleus of Rome's first public library.

So was publishing a haphazard, casual process in the ancient world? And to what extent can we talk of intellectual property rights protected by law or based on an ethical tradition, or even of some form of written assignment of rights, as in a will? The fact is, as far as we know, that the absence of any generally accepted code of publishing practice meant that the future of writing by Latin authors was basically a personal matter, or that it was in the hands of a coterie of scholars or some similar small group, or, often enough, that it was a political propaganda tool used by members of the Emperor's entourage or even by the Emperor himself. Of course there were poets who were well aware of the role of poetry for educated readers and of the creative writer's attitude to his writing, namely the hope and expectation that the publication and favourable reception of his work will immortalize the human spirit. In general, however, Roman writers were more interested in seeing their work favourably received and praised by the public than in hearing constructive (and possibly caustic) criticism of it.

A particularly important role in the Roman world of books was played by public libraries, which were originally attached to temples and later to public baths and were under the Emperor's absolute control. Little is known about their organization and the rules governing their use, even though they multiplied rapidly throughout the Roman world from the first century B.C. onwards. We do not know what their regulations were, for example, nor whether or not they were lending libraries, nor whether they kept more than one copy of any writer's work, nor what methods they used for acquiring new books and keeping themselves informed about new writing. That the Emperor controlled and censored the contents of the imperial library is apparent from the often-cited fact that Ovid's works were banished from the shelves of the public library when the poet was exiled in the first century B.C.⁸

One never-failing source of work for the booksellers' scriptoria and their *tachygraphi* ('speed-writers') was the constant demand for new books for libraries, since nearly all the libraries in Rome, apart from the Bibliotheca Ulpia, were destroyed by fire at one time or another. Emperor Domitian not only rebuilt the libraries in Rome that had been burnt down but took a personal interest in collecting books for the imperial library: among other things, he sent skilled copyists to the Museum in Alexandria to make accurate copies of the works that had been lost.

One striking feature of Roman civilization throughout its evolution from the very early years to the fifth century A.D., especially in the everyday lives of Roman citizens, is the persistence of the bilingual culture, summed up in Horace's dictum 'Conquered Greece took its savage conqueror captive.'⁹ From the time of Livius Andronicus, who translated the *Odyssey* into Latin, and the foundation of perhaps the first bilingual library in the Roman world, right down to the early fifth century A.D., Greek and Latin books were kept separately: all libraries, whether public or private, adhered to the tradition of the 'double library'. This division of the two languages, besides providing evidence of normal library practice, proves that Greek and Roman civilization never really fused together, even though references to and quotations from Greek literature, Greek oratory and political speeches and Greek proverbs and sayings – not only in literature and art but in daily life too – served as constant reminders to the Romans of the weighty heritage of Greek civilization in their everyday lives.¹⁰ As Cicero commented in 66 B.C., 'Greek poetry is read among all nations, Latin is confined to its own natural limits, which are narrow enough.'¹¹ Dependence on Greek civilization was so vital that it is clearly apparent in the words Virgil is reported to have used in defending himself against his detractors' charge that he had stolen his material from Homer: 'It is easier to steal the club from Hercules than a single line from Homer.'¹²

In looking for the causes that led to the foundation of the first private libraries in Rome and the trade in books from the third century B.C., we have to bear in mind certain incontrovertible facts concerning the general state of Roman intellectual life, though at the same time we have to admit our ignorance on some matters (*aliqua nescire*), as Quintilian remarked.¹³

The historical background. It should be stressed that before the Romans began to develop a body of real literature of their own to set beside that of the Greeks, they had spent about five hundred years involved in wars and campaigns of expansion, at first in the Italian peninsula and then further afield in the Mediterranean. Although they first came into contact with Greek civilization in Italy itself, from early in the eighth century B.C., and many centuries later in the great cultural centres of the Classical and Hellenistic periods such as Athens, Pergamum and Antioch, nobody ventured to record the lives and works of Roman intellectuals and men of action in literary form until 240 B.C.

The Greeks of the Classical period were not the first to explore the shores of the Western Mediterranean: they had been preceded by Mycenaean sea-

farers and explorers who sailed as far as Sicily and southern Italy. They may even have established trading stations at Taras (Tarentum) as early as 1400 B.C. and traded continuously in the area for about three hundred years thereafter, until the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization.¹⁴ The Phoenicians then proceeded to explore and settle the Mediterranean coast of North Africa and Sicily and probably traded as far north as the coast of Etruria (Tuscany).



2. Corinthian amphora found at Caere in 1856. In the upper zone is Heracles at a symposium given by the king of Eucalia. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

By the sixth century, however, the Phoenicians' trade had diminished in Italy, as had their cultural influence.¹⁵

Early in the eighth century B.C., and more systematically from the middle of that century to the end of the sixth, Greeks founded a string of colonies in Sicily and southern Italy, stretching from Tarentum to the Bay of Naples in one direction and right up the Adriatic coast as far as Hadria in the other. From these bases they developed their trade with the north of Italy, up to the farthest limits of Etruscan territory: this involved not only the sale of pottery

(Protocorinthian, Corinthian and Attic) and other household utensils but dealings in other sectors as well, such as promoting the cultivation of the grape and the olive. Thus they established well-beaten trade routes, one extending from Tarentum to the Apennines and another from Cumae (Cyme) through Latium to the coast of Tuscany and the hinterland along the River Arno.¹⁶ In fact one of those Greeks, Demaratus, a Corinthian of noble birth, was connected by blood with the early kings of Rome. He travelled from Corinth to Etruria taking some Greek potters and vase-painters with him and eventually settled at Tarquinia, where he married an Etruscan noblewoman. Their son is said to have moved to Rome, ascended the throne and reigned (616-579 B.C.) as Tarquinius Priscus.¹⁷ This story reflects the actual relations that developed over the years between the Greeks and the Etruscans and the Greek cultural influence on the people of Latium generally, especially the Romans from the sixth century onwards.

The Romans started to play a political role in the Mediterranean around the middle of the third century B.C., after a series of decisive wars. They gained the upper hand over the Etruscans in 510, when they captured Rome and set up an oligarchic government there, and then they defeated various hostile tribes including the Sabines, Oscans and Samnites. Early in the fourth century B.C. they were threatened from the north by marauders whom they called Gauls (Galli): the invaders sacked the greater part of Rome apart from the Capitol in 391, but thereafter they were driven back to their homelands beyond Lombardy.

After consolidating their position in Latium and subduing Etruria (282 B.C.) and the Greek theatre city of Tarentum (272), the Romans established diplomatic relations with the kingdoms of the *diadochi*, including the Egypt of the Ptolemies. In 241 they emerged victorious from the First Punic War, and in their second great confrontation with the Carthaginians they won Spain (206). Nine years later, in 197, Flaminius defeated Philip V of Macedonia at Cynoscephalae. With the defeat of Perseus by Aemilius Paullus at Pydna (168), Macedonia was annexed as a Roman province, and in 133 Attalus III of Pergamum ceded his kingdom to Rome in his will. Rome conquered the whole of the Iberian peninsula in 100 B.C. and Julius Caesar's wars of conquest added Gaul. Meanwhile Pontus, Bithynia, Cilicia, Judaea, Cyprus, Crete, Numidia and finally Egypt were annexed by Rome. The Mediterranean was now truly *mare nostrum* and Rome became the capital of an empire, a 'part' of the Hellenistic world with its own language.

While this expansion was in progress an enormous number of artistic and

Rome's political
role in the
Mediterranean



3. Map of Italy and Sicily in the pre-Roman period.

cultural treasures was accumulating in Rome as a result of the victorious wars: most of them came from the Greek kingdoms.¹⁸ This paved the way for the emergence of an affluent class, well organized and disciplined, who were the obvious people to administer the new-found wealth and the huge territories now under Rome's jurisdiction. Some members of that class immersed themselves in literature and the Greek cultural tradition, as Greek was the established lingua franca of the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean and therefore an essential tool for everybody involved in public affairs.

The beginnings of Latin literature. Today we have nothing, or virtually nothing, that could be described as a passage of prose or poetry with any literary pretensions dating from before the third century B.C.¹⁹ Assuming that literature as such did exist, we have to believe Cicero – who had tried in vain to discover how much of it there really had been – when he says that those early works were some of the driest pieces of writing imaginable, with no stylistic merit whatever.²⁰ But students in the early Empire may have had access to writings and record books dating from a period when the Romans, like the other Latin-speaking peoples in Italy, had begun to record facts about persons and things worth preserving for posterity. All those texts, although written in different dialects, used the same alphabet: the one borrowed from the Greeks.

In addition to those written records from an early period to which it is hard to assign a date, there was a kind of folk poetry current in Italy which was handed down mainly by word of mouth and was capable of being used for the composition of epic poems, according to Cato the Elder.²¹ Even if those peoples (including the early Romans) had not yet risen to the level of writing works of literature, they certainly knew how to read and write and were by no means incapable of composing imaginary stories in verse, for they were in the habit of chanting well-formed hymns to the gods and joking among themselves in song. Moreover, although it was a long time before they broadened their interests and developed their language sufficiently for it to be used as a vehicle for literature, they were familiar with Greek 'literary' genres from Lower Italy. The Greek influence is to be seen, for example, in the Atellan farces (*fabulae Atellanae* or *ludi Atellani*) of the early Classical period: these probably came from Campania, an area that had probably been influenced by entertainments and burlesques such as the *phlyakes* popular in Tarentum.²² The *phlyax* was a form of rustic comedy, for which we have indirect evidence from fourth-century vase-paintings, dealing with humorous subjects similar to those

*The oral and
 written tradition*

of the Atellan farces and with some points in common. Of comparable literary merit are the Fescennine verses (*versus Fescennini*), perhaps written in some kind of metre, which were sung at triumphs, weddings and other festivities.²³ The most important pre-literary lyric poem is a song that originated in a very ancient rite performed for the protection of the community – one of those revived by Augustus – known as the Song of the Arval Brethren (*Carmen Fratrium Arvalium*). Although the words consist of stock formulae (*concepta*



4. Amphora found in Italy with the incised Greek inscription EVLIN (Ευλιν[ος] = he who spins well) or EVOIN (εβοιν = εβοι, an exclamation of joy).
Bronze plaque in two pieces, found at Lavinium in 1958. This is the oldest written evidence of the cult of the Dioscuri in Latium. A votive offering to Castor and Pollux, 2nd half of the 6th c. B.C.

verba), this poem, which was written to be sung, is interesting for its rhythmical line-endings and the minor variations in the performers speeches.²⁴

Much of the pre-literary repertoire – including the folk songs and ancient myths traced back to their origins by Livy and the hymns sung by priestly brotherhoods²⁵ – is now lost. The gaps in our knowledge of that early ‘literature’, its influences and the way it was passed down from generation to generation are due to the fact that the Romans did not start keeping written records of their history until a very late date.

Early Roman historiography. All the early Roman historians wrote in Greek, probably to publicize the Romans' achievements to the Greek-speaking public, and that was why history was a genre of literature that no author had yet ventured to write in Latin. The first of those historians was Quintus Fabius Pictor,²⁶ writing in the late third century B.C.: in his work he chronicles the history of the Roman people from the foundation of Rome (747 B.C. according to his calculations) to the Second Punic War, following local traditions and frequently making use of Greek sources as well, including Hellanicus, Hieronymus of Cardia, Chaereas and Sosylus of Lacedaemon.²⁷ The first Roman historian to write in his own language, Latin, was Cato the Censor, who describes in his *Origines* the foundation and history of ancient Rome.²⁸ From the time of Cato (who died in 149 B.C.) to the annalists of Sulla's time and Gaius Licinius Macer (first century B.C.), the most important surviving work is the chronicle published in book form, probably on the initiative of Publius Mucius Scaevola, with the title of *Annales Maximi*.²⁹

The fullest accounts of the early history of Rome were given by two annalists: Livy, writing in Latin, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in Greek. Livy spent more than forty years of his life writing his monumental work in 142 books, in which he recorded the history of the Roman people from the foundation of Rome down to his own time. The manuscript bears the title *Ab urbe condita* (*From the Foundation of the City*). Most of it is lost, Books I to X and XXI to XLV being the only ones to have survived. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his *Antiquitates Romanae*, chronicled the history of Rome from its foundation to the end of the First Punic War (241 B.C.). Ten of the twenty books of this work are extant, as well as Book XI with some lacunae. Although he gives us a considerable amount of information not found elsewhere, he was a poor judge of the reliability of the early chronicles and other sources and consequently retails many 'facts' of dubious historical worth.

The conclusion to be drawn from this brief review of Roman historiography down to the end of the first century B.C. is this: when the Romans started writing records of their history in about 200 B.C. – that is about four hundred years after the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (616-579) – they were writing about a past that was somewhere between myth and popular tradition. And given that most of those early chronicles are now lost or survive only in fragmentary form, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are our main sources for the history of Rome. However, as we have seen, large sections of their work, too, are missing, so it is not at all surprising that there are big gaps in the written

tradition, as there were even in Cicero's lifetime; and those gaps, of course, are open to different interpretations and conjectures.

Sporadic written records. Even before the first Roman writers wrote the books that mark the beginning of Latin literature in the mid third century B.C., records of persons and things were sometimes written down on various kinds of inorganic or organic material. There are even some surviving records going back to the time of Numa Pompilius, the priest who became king and succeeded Romulus on the throne of Rome: that period is probably to be dated around the beginning of the seventh century. According to Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History*, there is a passage in the chronicle written by Cassius



5. Reproduction of the libri lintei. Berlin, Staatliche Museen ('Scrivere etrusco', 23).

Archival records
and the earliest
specimens of
writing

Hemina³⁰ stating that during the consulship of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus (181 B.C.) a scribe by the name of Terentius discovered Numa's sarcophagus at the foot of the Janiculum, with a number of written papyri inside it. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also states that Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome (642-617 B.C.), collected the texts of Numa's laws written on oaken boards – especially the laws relating to religious matters – and had them posted up in a public place.³¹ Eventually the writing on the tablets became illegible, according to Dionysius, and so, after the expulsion of the kings (510/509 B.C.), 'a certain hierophant, Gnaeus Papirius, the chief of all the priests' (i.e. the Pontifex Maximus) had them rewritten.³² There was another written collection of laws known as the Twelve Tables (*duodecim*

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΙΨΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΣ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΔΕΚΑ.

Dionysii Halicarnassci antiquitatum Romanarum Lib. X.

EX BIBLIOTHECA REGIA.



Βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ περὶ τ' αἰχμητῶν.

Ἰωάννης Νικολάου Ἰωάννης Νικολάου Ἰωάννης Νικολάου

LVTETIAE.

Ex officina Typographi Regii, typis Regiis.
M. D. XLVI.

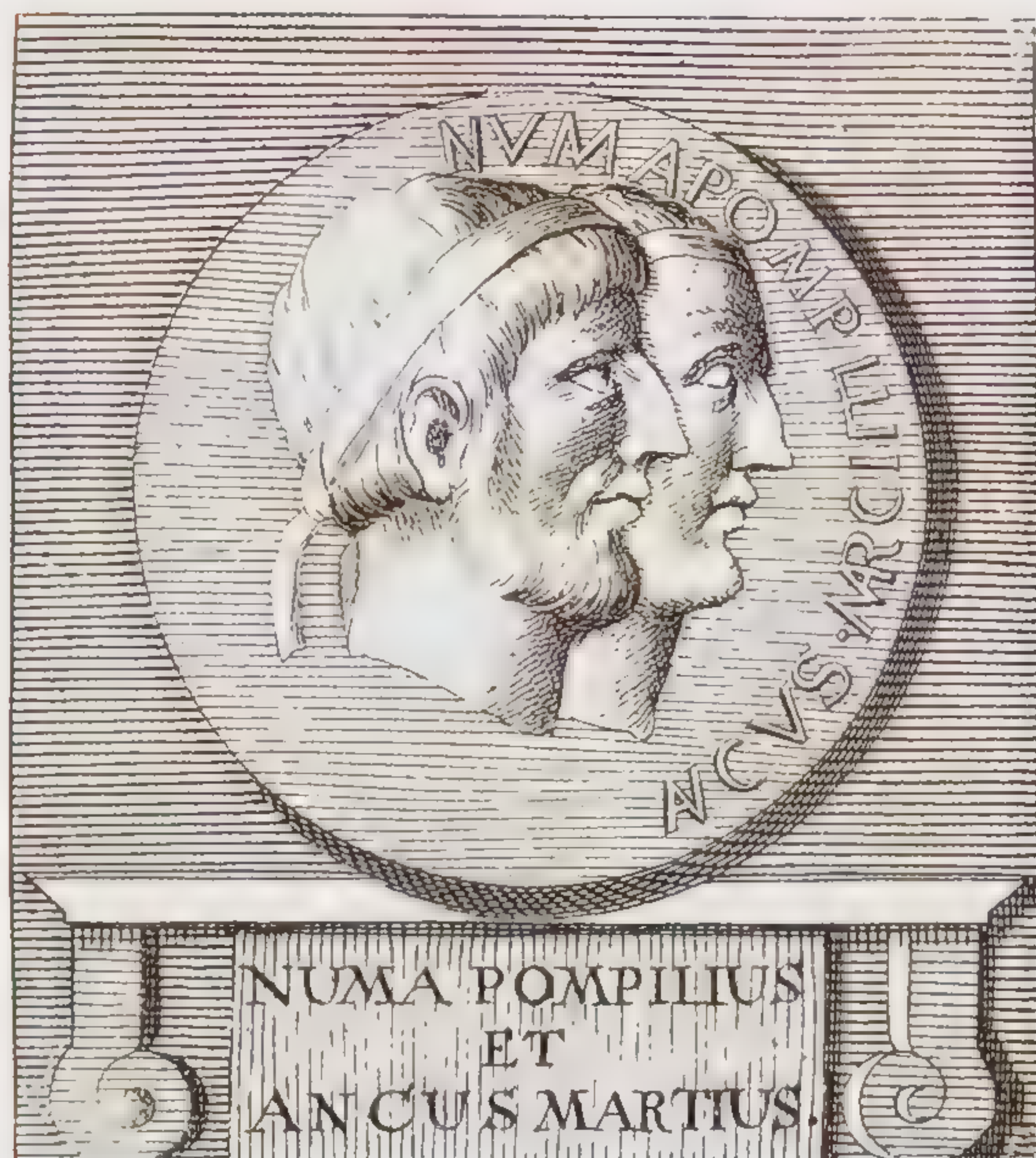
Ex priuilegio Regis.

6. Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Antiquitatum Romanarum Lib. X, Paris, Robertus Stephanus (Robert Estienne), 1546.

tabulae). According to ancient tradition, the laws of Rome were first codified by a Commission of Ten (*Decemviri*) in about 450 B.C.; they were then approved by the popular assembly and published by being posted up on twelve tablets of oak or stone in the Forum.³³ Three years before that

legislative project was completed, according to the tradition recorded by Livy (III.31.8), the Romans sent a delegation to Greece on a fact-finding mission to study the laws of Greek cities. There may be some truth in that story, as we know that the Greeks generally wrote down and codified their laws, especially (but not only) in the democratic cities.

Besides the laws there were other prose writings of the early period, mainly archival: official public records, lists of magistrates, records of triumphal celebrations in honour of victorious generals, registers of births, marriages and deaths, records of notable events, annals, calendars of feast-days and so on. At a later date, resolutions passed by the popular assembly (*acta populi*) were inscribed on bronze tablets that were kept in the Temple of Saturn, which served as both public treasury and record office. From 449 B.C., again according to Livy, copies of decrees of the Senate (*senatus consulta*) were kept in the Temple of Ceres on the Aventine. Servius, the commentator on Virgil, informs us that from an unknown date the Pontifex Maximus had to keep annual records of the names of the magistrates and the most notable events of their lives and works on



7. Numa Pompilius and Ancus Martius (Marcius). Engraving from H. Spoor, *Medici et Philosophi*, Utrecht 1707.



8. The goddess Ceres. Engraving from Spoor, *Medici et Philosophi*.

a whitewashed board (*tabula dealbata*), a sort of calendar. In time all these tablets and boards were collected and copied, on the initiative of Publius Mucius Scaevola, into eighty books (papyrus rolls) known thenceforth as the

Annales Maximi.³⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that these annals were an important source work for later historians, as it appears that Scaevola added his own explanatory notes to the original texts.³⁵

‘Books’ of another kind, made of linen (*Libri lintei*), are known to have been used as registers of useful historical data (such as lists of Roman magistrates and office-holders): Gaius Licinius Macer drew on these when writing his *Annales*.³⁶ There were also the *Indigitamenta*, service-books laying down the prescribed ritual to be used in invoking the numerous greater and lesser gods of Roman religion.³⁷

Livy, writing about all these records and the other material mentioned above, complained that the early sources for Roman history had survived in a fragmentary state and that even those fragments were hard to find in his time (first century B.C.): he attributed their loss to the destruction and burning of Rome by the Gauls in 391 B.C. Cicero lamented the unreliability of those sources that had survived.

NOTES

I

The Greek Foundations of Roman Civilization

NOTES

1. Hor., *Carm.* II.20.13 ff.; Mart., VII.88, XI.3; Ovid., *Trist.* IV.9 and 15 ff. See also pp. 161-162 herein.
2. Most Roman writers came from the provinces: the only ones known to have been born in Rome were Lucretius and Julius Caesar. See J. W. Watts, 'The Birthplaces of Latin Writers', *Greece and Rome*, n.s., vol. 18, Oxford, 1954, 91-101.
3. This is the figure given by Publius Victor in his description of the districts of Rome in the reign of Constantine the Great: see p. 138.
4. See p. 237 ff.
5. See pp. 97-100.
6. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* XLII.
7. See p. 50.
8. Ovid was exiled by Augustus in 8 B.C. under the terms of a decree which ordered his *relegatio* to Tomi on the Black Sea, probably the modern Constanta in Romania. The ostensible reason for his exile was the 'immorality' of his masterpiece *Ars amatoria*; the real reason has never been established.
9. Hor., *Epist.* II.1.156-157: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latio*.
10. On the relations between Greeks and Romans and the Romans' reactions to Greek influence, especially in literature, see N. Petrocheilos, *Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Ἑλληνισμός. Μιὰ διαλεκτική σχέση*, Athens, 1984.
11. Cic., *Arch.* 23.
12. Suetonius, *Vita Vergilii*, 46.
13. Quint., *Inst.* I.8.21.
14. The standard work I have used for the history of the evolution of Rome into a Mediterranean imperial power from the seventh century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D. is M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome Down to the Reign of Constantine*, London, 1975³. For further reading on the settlement of Greeks in southern Italy, the area that came to be known as Magna Graecia, see J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their early colonies and trade*, London, 1980³.
15. On the Phoenicians and their influence in Italy see S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians*, New York, 1968.
16. See Cary and Scullard, *op. cit.*, 16-17.
17. On Demaratus see esp. A. Blakeway, "'Demaratus': A Study in Some Aspects of the Earliest Hellenisation of Latium and Etruria", *JRS* 1935, 129 ff.
18. See Petrocheilos, *op. cit.*, 71-92 («Τροφή καὶ Ἡθική Κατάπτωση»).
19. Of the innumerable modern works on Latin literature, some of the standard works that have been translated into Greek are: H. J. Rose, *Ἱστορία τῆς Λατινικῆς Λογοτεχνίας, I: Ἀπὸ τὶς ρίζες ὡς τὴν ποίηση τοῦ Αὐγούστου, II: Ἀπὸ τὴν πεζογραφία τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὡς τὸν Αὐγουστίνου* (= *A Handbook of Latin Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine*, tr. K. Ch. Grollios), Athens, 1978 (= Rose, *Ἱστορία*, I-II); M. von Albrecht, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Λογοτεχνίας. Ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικο ὡς τὸν Βοήθιο καὶ ἡ σημασία της γιὰ τὰ νεώτερα χρόνια* (= *Geschichte der römischen Literatur: von Andronicus bis Boethius; mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Bedeutung für die Neuzeit*, ed. D. Z. Nikitas), 2 vols., Iraklio, 1997 (= Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I-II); E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen, *Ἱστορία τῆς Λατινικῆς Λογο-*

- τεχνία (= *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, Vol. 2: *Latin Literature*, tr. Th. Pikoula and A. Sideri-Tolia), Athens, 2000 (= Kenney and Clausen, *Ἱστορία*).
20. See Rose, *op. cit.*, I, 8-9.
21. According to Cato, those narrative poems, which might be described as historical 'ballads', were odes in praise of the exploits of heroic men (*clarorum virorum laudes*): see Rose, *op. cit.*, I, 5-6.
22. See H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology: Including its extension to Rome*, London, 1958, 252. Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the Atellan farces: their evolution, their exact nature, their place of origin (Atella in Campania?), their language (Oscan?). According to the grammarian Diomedes, they were probably a genre of Roman drama, that is traditional farces resembling the *pantomimus* in form.
23. We know from extant writings, such as the poems of Horace, that the 'protagonists' wore masks made of bark and sang bawdy songs known as *versus Fescennini*: see Rose, *Ἱστορία*, I, 9-10.
24. This song, which had its origins in a very ancient rite, has come down to us in an inscription dated 218 B.C. (*CIL* I² 2, No. 2).
25. See G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, 3 vols., Paris, 1968-1973².
26. Fabius Pictor was a Roman historian and politician of the third century B.C. who fought in the Second Punic War and was sent to Delphi by the Senate to consult the oracle after the defeat by the Carthaginians at Cannae in 216: see E. Badian, 'The Early Historians', in *Latin Historians*, ed. T. A. Dorey, New York, 1966, 1-38. For further information see P. Bung, *Q. Fabius Pictor, der erste römische Annalist. Untersuchungen über Aufbau, Stil und Inhalt seines Geschichtswerks an Hand von Polybios I-II* (doctoral dissertation), Köln, 1950; D. Timpe, 'Fabius Pictor und die Anfänge der römischen Historiographie', *ANRW* 1.2 (1972) 928-969.
27. Stylistically and linguistically, Fabius probably modelled himself on Hellenistic works. The content of his chronicle – on the evidence of Plutarch, mainly – was based on the work of an almost unknown historian, Diocles of Peparethos, the first Greek to write a history of the foundation of Rome (*Πρώμης κτίσις*).
28. Cato is considered a pioneer in the history of Latin literature and scholarship. The nature of his works reflects his determination to broaden the scope of his knowledge, and indeed it was this that motivated him to write *Origines* (which deals with the origins of cities, i.e. their foundation). It is a work that not only chronicles historical events but also extols and moralizes on the heroism of great men. See also pp. 45-46.
29. On the *Annales Maximi* and their publication in eighty books see p. 17 and n. 34.
30. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XIII.27.13.
'There are some facts of considerable importance which make against the opinion expressed by M. Varro, relative to the invention of paper. Cassius Hemina, a writer of very great antiquity, has stated in the Fourth Book of his Annals, that Gnaeus Terentius, the scribe, while engaged in digging on his land in the Janiculum, came to a coffer, in which Numa had been buried, the former king of Rome, and that in this coffer were also found some books of his. This took place in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Cethegus, the son of Lucius, and of M. Baebius Tamphilus, the son of Quintus, the interval between whose

consulship and the reign of Numa was five hundred and thirty-five years.'

Lucius Cassius Hemina lived in the mid second century B.C., which makes him a contemporary of Cato the Censor. He wrote a chronicle (*Annales*) which appears to have given a very lengthy account of the prehistory of Rome, considering that by Book II he had still not reached the foundation of Rome by Romulus. The total length of the chronicle is not known (it consisted of between five and seven books). One of the events mentioned in the record for the year 181 B.C. is the finding of Numa's books.

31. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, III.36.4.

... ἀπολέμου καὶ φιλεργίας σώφρονος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἱεροφάντας καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συγγραφάς, ἃς Πομπίλιος συνεστήσατο, παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἀνέγραψεν εἰς δέλτους καὶ προὔθηκεν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις σκοπεῖν, ἃς ἀφανισθῆναι συνέβη τῷ χρόνῳ· χαλκαῖ γὰρ οὐπω στήλαι τότε ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν δρυΐναις ἐχαράττοντο σανίσιν οἳ τε νόμοι καὶ αἱ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν διαγραφαί· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων εἰς ἀναγραφὴν δημοσίαν αὐθις ἤχθησαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἱεροφάντου Γαίου Παπυρίου, τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος. ἀνακτησάμενος δὲ τὰ κατερραθυμμένα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸν ἀργὸν...

32. That such a book really did exist, with the title *Ius civile Papirianum*, is confirmed by the jurist and historian Gracianus Flaccus (probably a contemporary of Caesar's), who wrote a commentary on it. As to Papirius's dates and the title of the office he held, however, serious doubts were expressed by the jurist Lucius Pomponius and were evidently felt by Cicero himself, judging by the fact that he does not mention this Gnaeus Papirius in the family tree of the *gens Papiria* (*Ad fam.*, IX.12).

33. After the expulsion of the kings in 510/509 B.C. and the class struggle that ensued, the plebeians won greater powers for themselves, which led to law reforms carried out by a commission of ten (*decem viri legibus scribundis*). Apparently the Twelve Tables were destroyed when Rome was burnt by the Gauls, and they had to be replaced (Livy, VI.1.3). See A. Berger, 'Tabulae duodecim', in *RE*, 4 A2 (1932), 1900-1949; J. Delz, 'Der griechische Einfluss auf die Zwölftafelgesetzgebung', *MH* 23 (1966) 69-83.

The legal code of the Twelve Tables was regarded by Romans forever after as 'the source of all public and private law' (*fons omnis publici privatique iuris*) (Livy, III.34.6) and every Roman learnt the laws by heart. The laws were used as a school text down to Cicero's time.

34. Before historiography developed in Rome, the first historical records are to be found in the annals of the Pontifices Maximi (*tabulae pontificum maximorum*). These were annual records of the names of the consuls and other office-holders and of notable events, with their dates. Towards the end of the second century B.C. (between 130 and 115) the Pontifex Maximus Publius Mucius Scaevola published those chronicles in book form, and from then on they were known as the *Annales Maximi*. See C. Cichorius, 'Annales Maximi', in *RE*, 1/2 (1894), 2248-2255; B. W. Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: The origins of the annalistic tradition*, Ann Arbor, 1999.

35. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I.73.1. According to Servius, Scaevola must have added his own notes to the texts recorded on the original tablets: this may perhaps explain why the published version filled eighty books.

...ἔχων δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλή-

νικῶν παρέχεσθαι συγγραφέων, οἱ διαφόρους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς πόλεως, ἵνα μὴ δόξω μακρηγορεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐλεύσομαι συγγραφεῖς. παλαιὸς μὲν οὖν οὔτε συγγραφεὺς οὔτε λογογράφος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ εἷς· ἐκ παλαιῶν μέντοι λόγων ἐν ἱεραῖς δέλτοις σωζομένων ἕκαστός τι παραλαβὼν ἀνέγραψεν. Τούτων δέ τινες μὲν Αἰνείου...

36. Gaius Licinius Macer and Quintus Aelius Tubero were two of the last historians of the Republic. Only fragments of their work survive. Macer's *Annales* consisted of sixteen books and started with an account of the foundation of Rome. In gathering information about the Roman magistrates of the third and fourth cen-

turies B.C., Macer consulted 'hitherto unknown' sources such as the *Libri lintei* (lists written on linen). It has to be said that he is not considered a reliable historian: already in the first century B.C., Cicero deplored the excessive verbosity of his narrative and censured him for not making enough use of Greek sources (*De leg.* 1.7). See R. M. Ogilvie, 'Livy, Licinius Macer, and the Libri Lintei', *JRS* 48 (1958) 40.

37. The *Indigitamenta* were probably lists of ancient deities about whom nothing was known in the Classical period. Even the derivation of their name, *Indigetes*, has never been satisfactorily explained.

II

FROM LIVIUS ANDRONICUS
TO THE
SCIPIONIC CIRCLE



FROM LIVIUS ANDRONICUS TO THE SCIPIONIC CIRCLE

The beginnings of Latin literature and its impact on the development of Roman cultural life

Livius Andronicus and the first bilingual library(?). In the light of the preceding brief summary of the Greeks' cultural influence on the Romans in the early history of Rome, it is hardly surprising and was certainly no mere coincidence that the Latin poetical tradition was founded by a Greek from Tarentum (Taras) in Lower Italy named Andronicus; nor is it surprising that instead of attempting to compose a poetical work of his own he chose to translate the *Odyssey* into Latin (*Odyssia*), incorporating it into the mythology of Roman prehistory.

But the significance of Livius Andronicus's 'initiative' was not merely literary: it occurred in a period when major cultural changes were taking place in Rome, especially from about the middle of the third century B.C. In 240 B.C., when Andronicus was at work on his first translating project,¹ the First Punic War had just ended and Rome was pursuing a programme of Hellenization, partly to streamline the administration of her newly-acquired territories but mainly to cloak her omnipotence in a mantle of Hellenism so that she might be considered the natural heiress to the kingdoms of the *diadochi*.²

It should be emphasized that translating Greek written works into Latin, which Livius Andronicus pioneered in 240 B.C., was for the Romans not simply a linguistic process but a religious act, an act of propitiation or expiation (*piaculum*), as were most of their cultural practices during the Republic³ such as the introduction of the black stone of Cybele and the oracles of the Sibylline Books, one of which enjoined the composition of poems in the Greek style. Andronicus's literary career started at the *ludi tarentini*, which were held in honour of two newly-introduced chthonic deities. It was then, at some time after 249, that he was commissioned to write a hymn to be sung by a choir of twenty-seven girls.

Little is known about the life of the first 'Roman' poet, Livius Andronicus. He was born at Tarentum, perhaps *circa* 280 B.C., and when that city was

*Translating Greek
drama: an act
of expiation*

1. The arcade of the tabularium (the censors' public record office).

captured by the Romans in 272, when he was about eight, he was bought or taken into slavery by Marcus Livius Salinator.⁴ The Livius family gave young Andronicus a good education in Latin and Greek at one of the special schools for slaves in Rome. The young slaves who completed their studies at these schools were well qualified to work as scribes, supervisors, archivists or librarians, and many of them were employed by the Roman administration in the capital or the conquered territories.

Andronicus's master, M. Livius Salinator, a member of the plebeian but noble *gens Livia* who was known for his philhellenic sentiments, could be said to have moulded Andronicus in such a way as to epitomize the *semigraecus* referred to by Suetonius: the poet that Rome needed to link her with Greece.⁵ On completing his studies, Andronicus stayed on with Salinator as tutor to his son (born in 254). In 240, when the young Salinator assumed the *toga virilis*, Andronicus was manumitted and took the name Livius.

During the wars in which Rome became involved from 230 to 219, in answer to an appeal from the Greek cities on the Adriatic and in order to contain the expansionist designs of the new Illyrian kingdom, the young Salinator was elected consul. In 207 he held the consulship for the second time and was granted a triumph for his victory over the Carthaginians, while Livius Andronicus was commissioned by the *decemviri* to compose a hymn in honour of Juno Regina.⁶ Then, in recognition of his professional services, he was granted the right to form a guild of writers and actors (*Collegium scribarum et histrionum*).⁷ That is all that is known about the life of Andronicus, who died (perhaps in 206) aged about seventy-four.

The most important of Andronicus's works is what is sometimes referred to as 'the birth of the Latin Homer', in other words the *Odyssia*, which won for itself a similar position to that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in Greek education, judging by the fact that it was still in use as a standard school textbook when Horace was a boy in the first century B.C.⁸ Literary criticism of Andronicus's *Odyssia* is necessarily limited to the meagre extant remains of that long poem in Saturnians: at most forty-five fragments, of which only four are longer than one line and only one is as much as three lines in length.⁹ Andronicus's version of the *Odyssey* was not a straight translation but a creative reworking of Homer's text in Latin, using the Roman equivalents of Greek persons and things, to make the reader feel that he was reading an authentic Latin poem. For example, he chose to render the Greek word *Mousa* (Muse) as *Camena*, a name given to various deities of springs and streams who had an altar

dedicated to them outside the Porta Capena.¹⁰ And although the Homeric equivalents in Latin presented etymological difficulties, Andronicus approached these linguistic problems with great respect and conscientiousness, so much so that traces of his influence are to be seen in poets such as Virgil, in the *Aeneid*.¹¹

Here, however, we are concerned not so much with Andronicus's work as a writer and translator, nor with the poetical path that he charted for Latin literature, as with the books he had at his disposal to assist him in his work. To carry his project through, Andronicus must have had access not only to the Homeric epics, the plays of the great Greek tragedians and linguistic aids, but also to grammars, encyclopaedias and other books about Roman civilization and the pantheon of the gods. It is generally agreed that his Latinization of Greek deities' names was felicitous: *Mousa* (Muse) becomes *Camena*, *Moirai* (Fate) is *Morta*, *Mnemosyne* (Memory) is *Moneta*. Roman religious proprieties did not allow a poet to deify human beings, as the Greeks were accustomed to do: thus *theophin mestor atalantos* ('the peer of the gods in counsel') was transmuted into *vir summus adprimus* ('the best, the most excellent of men'). All his writing, not only in the *Odyssia* but also in the tragedies he wrote about heroes of the Trojan War (*Achilles*, *Aegistus*),¹² indicates that he had access to standardized texts (in other words books) about people and things, both secular and sacred. So I think we may assume that Livius Andronicus was perhaps the first 'Roman' to possess a bilingual library – that is one with separate Greek and Latin sections – which he used for reference when writing.

It is reasonable to suppose that Andronicus's bilingual library supported the work of the writers' and actors' guild, which was based in the Temple of Minerva because the goddess of wisdom and literature was also the patroness of actors. At any rate, Andronicus's plays and poems brought the antique myths and the philosophy associated with them to the attention of the Roman public, either through the medium of stage performances or perhaps through the written word – at least in the case of the *Odyssia*, since that was an educational book. In reality, his need to share the Romans' feeling for their tradition reflects the process of Romanization, as he introduces religious ideas from his original (Homer's *Odyssey*) into the sacred language of the Romans; and this, to all intents and purposes, marks the beginning of Roman literature.

Ennius: A Hellenist poet in Rome. That the formation of a bilingual library was almost a matter of course, as an essential tool of literary activity – like that of Livius Andronicus, which was intended to assist him in his writing and

Andronicus's
'library'

The writers' and
actors' guild

PLAN DE ROME qui comprend ses divers accroissements depuis

1. La Grande Place de Rome .
2. La Voie Sacrée .
3. Les Carines .
4. Le Grand Cirque .
5. Le Marché aux Bœufs .
6. Le Velabre . rue des Turques .
7. La Rue Neuve .
8. Temple de Vesta .
9. Curia Hostilia .
10. Temple de Jupiter Stateur .
11. Temple de Quirinus .
12. Temple dédié à la Fortune .
13. Temple dédié à la Fortune .
Virile
14. Temple de Jupiter Capitolin
15. Temple de Fidius .
16. Temple de Quirinus .
17. Temple du Salut .
18. Temple de Saturne
19. Palais d'Hostilius .
20. Temple de Junon Lucine .
21. Palais de Servius Tullius .
22. Temple de la Paix .
23. Temple de Jupiter
Fécétien .
24. Temple de Diane .
25. Temple de la Victoire .
26. Temple de Junon Reine .
27. Champ Scelerat .
28. Temple de Vénus Erycine
29. Temple d'Apollon .



Tullius jusqu'à la prise de cette Ville par les Gaulois. *Hist. Univers.^{le}
Tom. 15 P. 111. 112.*



30. Temple de Ceres, de Bacchus,
et de Proserpine
31. Temple de Iaster et Pollux.
32. Temple de la Foy.
33. Temple de la Fortune, la
Benne.
34. Temple de la Fortune —)
l'Ainée.
35. Temple de la Fortune —)
Obéissante.
36. Temple d'Hercule.
37. Temple de Janus.
38. Temple de Jupiter garand
ou Sponsor.
39. Temple de Libitine.
40. Temple de Mars.
41. Temple de Mercure.
42. Temple de Murcia
43. Temple de Neptune —)
Equestre.
44. Le Comice.
45. Temple de Vénus Chiacine,
Bâti par Tullius.
46. Temple de Vulcain.
47. Temple Carnenda.
48. Temple de la Déesse)
Carna.
49. Temple de la Concorde.
50. La Fontaine de Mercure.
51. Tribu Palatine.
52. La Roche Tarpeia.

teaching and also to provide reference works for his guild – is more than ever evident in the case of Ennius. The latter marks the beginning of a form of literature, almost entirely Greek in its inspiration, that was favoured and supported by the most enlightened members of the upper class. Those who wrote literature of this kind strove to transform the rough, unpolished speech of the Romans into something comparable with the elegance and style of Greek prose.

Quintus Ennius, born in 239 B.C. in the small Calabrian town of Rudiae, that is in Magna Graecia,¹³ knew no Latin at all when he left Sardinia with Cato the Elder (the Censor) in 204 and went to live in Rome.¹⁴ One outcome of the friendships he made with prominent Romans such as Marcus Fulvius Nobilior was that the Temple of Hercules and the Muses, erected to house the statues of Heracles Massagetes and other spoils taken from Pyrrhus's palace, was turned into a Greek-style *mouseion* or *museum*, that is a house of the Muses.¹⁵ Ennius's plan was to establish a centre of learning with the same sort of prestige and symbolic status as the Museum in Alexandria. Apparently the temple was used as a meeting-place for people with intellectual interests, perhaps members of an exclusive coterie, and it probably contained an archival library, to judge by the fact that Nobilior deposited in the temple a copy of the book he had written, which is described as a book of *fasti* (etymological explanations of the names of the months).¹⁶

It is clear from Ennius's literary activity not only that he was working from Greek and Hellenistic originals but also that there was a reading public in Rome (even if not very large) with selective tastes, not content to read Greek authors indiscriminately but showing a preference for writers who had some connection with Southern Italy, either in their subject matter or by birth or residence. So Ennius focused his attention on Epicharmus, Archestratus and Euhemerus, while the Romans of later times pointed proudly not only to the 'Sicilian Muses' of Theocritus but even to Pythagoras as an 'Italian' philosopher. Out of gratitude to his patrons, while at the same time demonstrating his own particular preferences and responding to the popular demand for theatrical works, Ennius translated and adapted a number of Greek tragedies, mostly by Euripides.¹⁷ But his most important work, on which he spent most of his time, was the ambitious verse chronicle in epic form entitled *Annales*, giving an account of the whole history of Rome, perhaps from the time of Romulus to



2. *Plan of Rome from the time of Servius Tullius to the conquest of the city by the Gauls. From Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à présent, vol. 18, Paris, Moutard, 1780.*

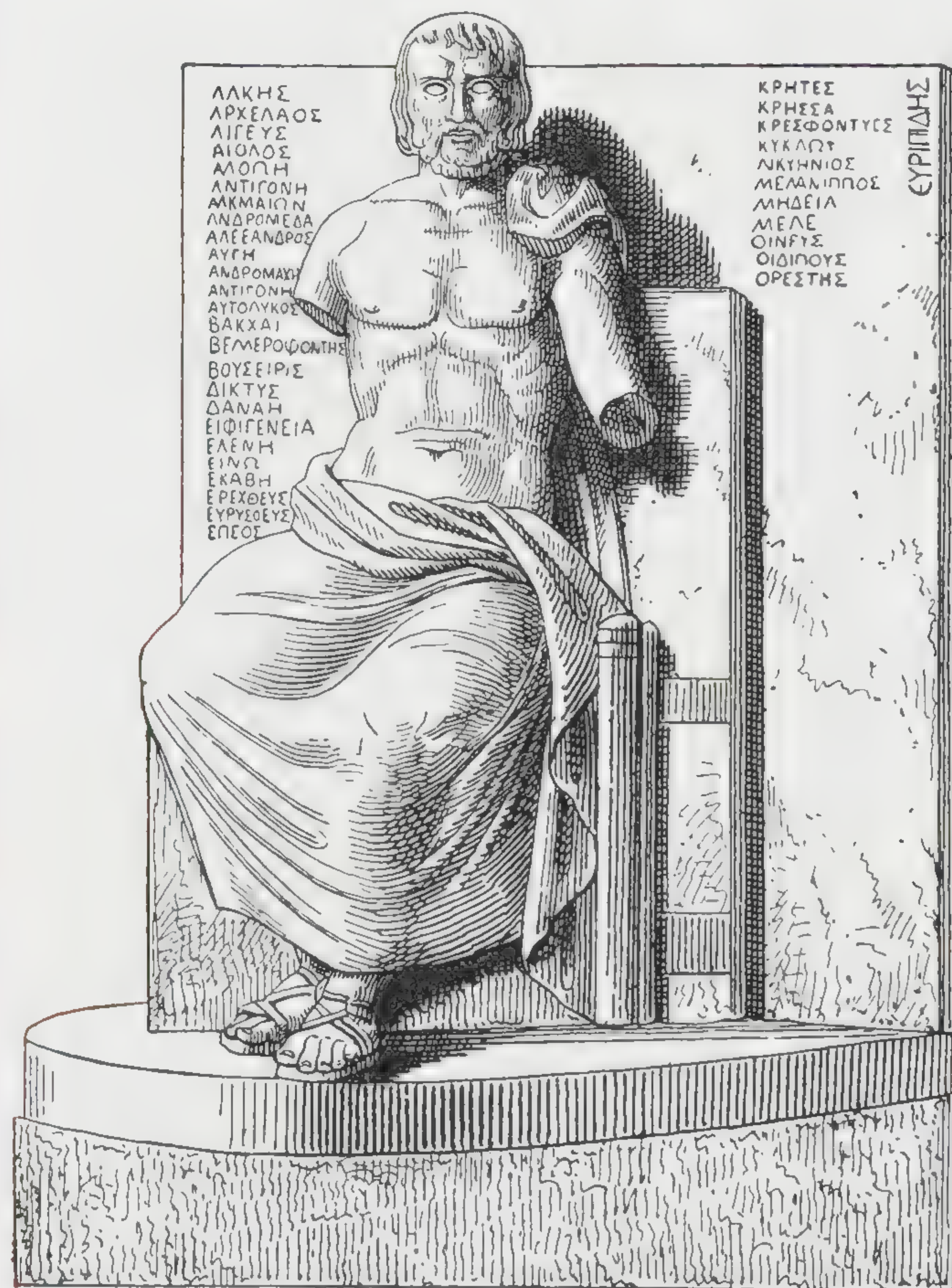


3. Ennius meets Homer on Mount Helicon. Engraving from *Q. Ennius, Fragmenta*, Amsterdam, ex officina Wetsteniana, 1707.

his own day.¹⁸ Ennius also wrote on philosophical subjects, as we know from certain passages in the *Annales* and some fragments of his poem *Epicharmus*, in which he sets out the opinions of that Greek comic playwright, most of which are in fact the philosophical maxims of Chrysogonus and Axiopistus.¹⁹

Having looked briefly at the literary output of Ennius, who lived a frugal life at his home on the Aventine Hill, one might well wonder what books he had at his disposal for his translations and all the research he had to do when

writing the *Annales*. Did he have his own library of papyri that he had brought from his home town, or did he consult books belonging to his aristocratic friends and patrons? One thing of which we can be sure, on the evidence of the extant material from that period, is that many Greek works are mentioned or hinted at for the first time in Ennius's writings. In his *Euhemerus sive Sacra historia*, for example, his object was to propagate the opinions of Euhemerus, a Sicilian Greek writer, on the history of the origins of religion;²⁰ and in his *Epicharmus* he gave Latin translations of a number of maxims from the plays of Epicharmus, a comic poet very popular in his day (so much so that Plato made a point of going to see his plays at Syracuse).²¹



4. Euripides. Drawing from V. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'invasion des Barbares*, vol. II, Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1890, p. 202.

Lastly, in his *Sota*, in which he translated some of the amusing and scurrilous iambics of Sotades, Ennius not only gave the Romans their first introduction to that Thracian-born poet of the Alexandrian school but also added another literary genre to his string of translations.²²

As far as the three great Greek tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides) are concerned, we have no direct or indirect testimony of their work in Rome prior to Livius Andronicus and Ennius, and then it was mainly Euripides: his plays were the most popular with Roman readers, who followed

the Alexandrian trend and considered him the ‘most tragic’ of the three. It was again from the pen of Ennius (in his *Achilles*) that educated Romans first made the acquaintance of another tragedian contemporary with Euripides, Aristarchus of Tegea,²³ and of Archestratus of Gela through the gastronomic parody entitled *Hedyphagetica*,²⁴ with which Ennius enriched his repertoire.

Before moving on from the subject of Ennius’s unavoidable dependence on books for his writing and translating, it is worth mentioning his original work entitled *Satura*, a poetical miscellany, much of it written in a satirical vein. In some passages of this work he may well have modelled himself on the *Iambi* of Callimachus.²⁵

The question of the sources that Ennius actually used in writing the epic *Annales* remains open to conjecture. For the period of the monarchy in Rome (616-510 B.C.) there was an extensive ‘Greek bibliography’ available, as well as Roman genealogical traditions, lists of *pontifices* and other calendars and chronicles, but for the earlier years it is doubtful whether there was any primary source material. Considering that Ennius places the date of Rome’s foundation at about 1100 B.C., it looks as if he was influenced – at least on this point – by Eratosthenes, who in his *Geographica* dates the fall of Troy to 1184 and says, as Ennius does, that Romulus was the grandson of Aeneas.²⁶

Let me conclude this bibliological survey with Ennius as its ‘hero’ by mentioning an incident that decisively influenced the thinking underlying his writings, the range of his literary repertoire, his attitude towards the Greek originals he took as his models and his overt intention of helping to keep Greek literature alive through the medium of Roman culture. Ennius believed that he was a reincarnation of Homer, an idea that came into his mind after



5. Homer. Engraving from F. Orsini, *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressae cum annotationibus*. Ex Bibliotheca Fulvj Ursini, *Romae, Ant. Lafrerij formeis*, 1570 (Venetiis, in aedibus Petri Dehuchino, 1570).

he had a dream or vision in which the bard's spirit appeared to him.²⁷ In the sense that Homer, according to Greek tradition, stands at the beginning of every genre of literature (a position reflected in the relief of Archestratus of Priene known as 'The Apotheosis of Homer'),²⁸ Ennius attempted to transfuse the Greek attitude to Homer into Latin literature.

Plautus: His models and the New Comedy. It was not only through the initiative of Livius Andronicus and Ennius that Roman literature came to follow the models of the Greek Classical and Hellenistic periods, because by 241 B.C., when the First Punic War ended, Sicily was in Roman hands and virtually the whole of Italy was united under Roman supremacy. The result was that most of the cultural traditions of the Southern Italian cities were incorporated into Roman culture. But this is no place to investigate the extent of Greek influence on those writers who modelled their approach on that of Andronicus and Ennius, or to determine the degree of their dependence on original Greek writings: that is a matter of the history of Latin literature and as such is beyond the scope of this book. Plautus, however, is one author who must be mentioned, not so much for the purpose of identifying the original works on which his plays were based but rather because he leads straight to the beginnings of Roman theatre.

Titus Maccius Plautus, who admitted (probably ironically) that he came from Sarsina in Umbria, was born probably *circa* 250 B.C.²⁹ and is said to have made a living in his younger days by working as a stage carpenter or technician.³⁰ He learnt Greek, probably at the urging of Livius Andronicus and Naevius: in fact he is said to have taught himself. About 130 plays are attributed to him, although even by the time of L. Aelius Stilo and M. Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.) the catalogues compiled by those two literary scholars list no more than twenty-five believed to be authentic.³¹

Plautus borrowed the plots of his plays from the conventional plots of Greek comedies, mostly of the New Comedy, and he freely admitted that his works were adaptations of Greek plays. However, by excising whole acts from his originals and making other alterations, he gave his plays a style and character of their own. Menander was his chief source of inspiration and at least three of Plautus's works – *Bacchides* (*Two Bacchises*), *Cistellaria* (*The*

6. Plautus, *Comoediae*, 9th c. (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 3870). Parchment codex that originally belonged to Nicolaus Cusanus, then to Cardinal Giordano Orsini and then to Pope Leo X.

MEUS tuos inuestis uultis mercedem.

Mundis. uelundis quem delectum lucris.

Adhuc. utq. ad uirtute in rebus omnibus.

Et ut rationisq. uirtutis omnium.

Bene expedire uultis. peregrin. q. & domi.

Bonaeq. atq. amplo auctare p. p. loco.

Quasq. inceptis res. quasq. inceptabitis.

Et ut bonis uos uosq. omis nuntis.

Me adficere uultis. ea adferam. ea ut nuntia.

Quae maxime in rebus uostis commune licet.

Nam uos qui de meclis scitis concessu & datum.

Mihi esse abdis. alius nuntis preson. & lucro.

Hic ut me uultis adplare adnuntier.

Lura ut p. uos uos temp. suppetit.

La huc facietis fibule silentium.

Laq. quae & iustia huc erit omis arbitri.

Nunc cuius iussu uenio & qua obtem uenerim.

Diam. simulq. ipse eloquit nomen meum;

Locus iussu uenio. nomen mercuri est mihi;

Pater huc me misit ad uos orati meus;

Tam & si p. imperio uos qd. dicti foret.

S. ebit facturos. quippe qui intellegunt.

Nec uos & metueret. ita ut equum & iouem.

Uerū p. hoc petere me pario.

A uobis uisit lentar dictis bonis;

Et tunc ille cuius huc iussu uenio iussit.



Casket Comedy) and *Stichus* – are definitely based on plays by the Greek dramatist, respectively Menander's *Dis exapaton* (*Twice a Swindler*), *Synaristosai* (*Women Lunching Together*) and *Adelphoi* (*The Brothers*).³² Plautus relied on the pen of Diphilus for three more of his plots: *Rudens* (*The Rope*), *Casina* and *Vidularia* (*The Wallet*).³³ Two of his comedies are derived from Philemon: *Mercator* (*The Merchant*) and *Trinummus* (*Three-Bob Day*);³⁴ one from Alexis: *Poenulus* (*The Little Carthaginian*);³⁵ and one from the otherwise unknown playwright Demophilus: *Asinaria* (*The Donkey-dealer*).³⁶

Plautus's vocabulary is distinctive, not only because of the variety of Latin synonyms but also because of the large number of Greek or semi-Greek words he uses. What is surprising is not that he switches so effortlessly between the two languages, Latin and Greek, but that even at that early date his public was evidently quite at home with the bilingualism of his vocabulary.³⁷ And this raises two questions: to what sort of public were Plautus's plays addressed – a public that must have been very considerable, to judge by the fact that about 110 spurious plays were published under his name in the second century B.C. – and under what conditions was the staging of those plays organized?

The world of the Roman theatre. From the time when, according to Livy, Etruscan dancers first performed mimetic dances to the music of flutes as part of a rite to propitiate the gods during a deadly outbreak of plague (in 364 B.C.), 185 years were to pass before the Romans built their first theatre.³⁸ The first attempt to construct a building for theatrical performances was in 179 B.C. and the second five years later. About the outcome of the first project nothing is known. As for the second venture, it is said that the building was demolished by order of the Senate at the instigation of Scipio Nasica, a friend of Ennius's, on the grounds that it was harmful to public morals (*nociturum publicis moribus*). But Nasica's obscurantist intervention had no sequel, the resulting public outcry soon set the matter to rights³⁹ and so, by 170 B.C. or shortly before, Rome has its own self-contained clique of 'theatre people'. From now on the theatre was an essential part of social life, a springboard for politicians hoping to win public favour, a very profitable business for the impresarios and a new form of recreation and entertainment for the plebs.⁴⁰

7. Vertical elevation and plan of a Roman theatre as compared with a Greek, from Vitruve, *Les dix livres d'architecture*, Paris, André Balland, pp.130-131 (Pl. XLII). Illustration based on drawings by C. Perrault (1673).

Fig. I.

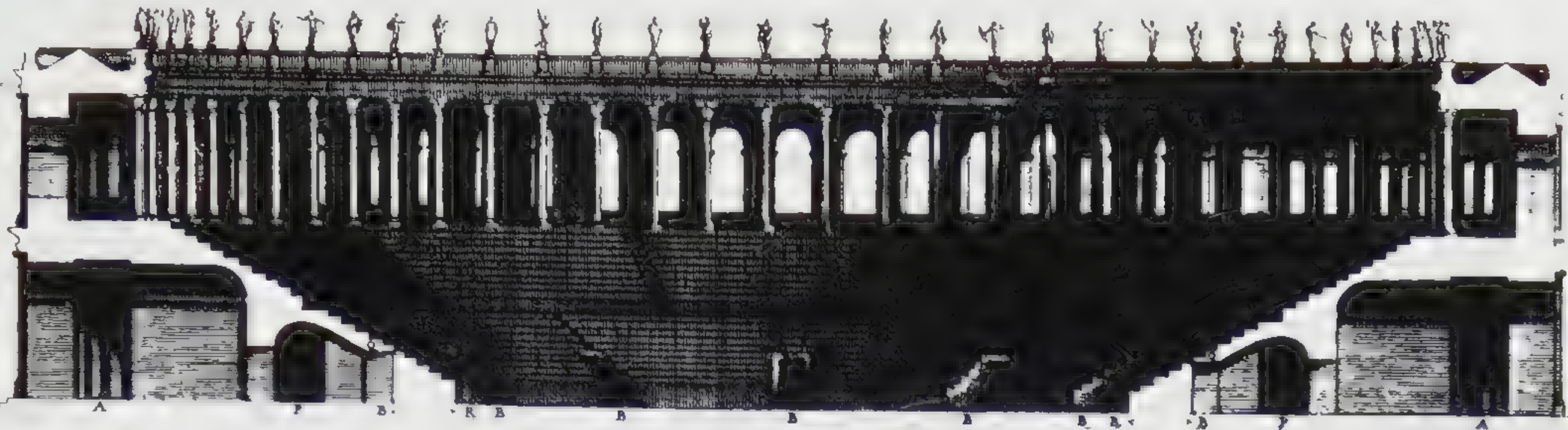
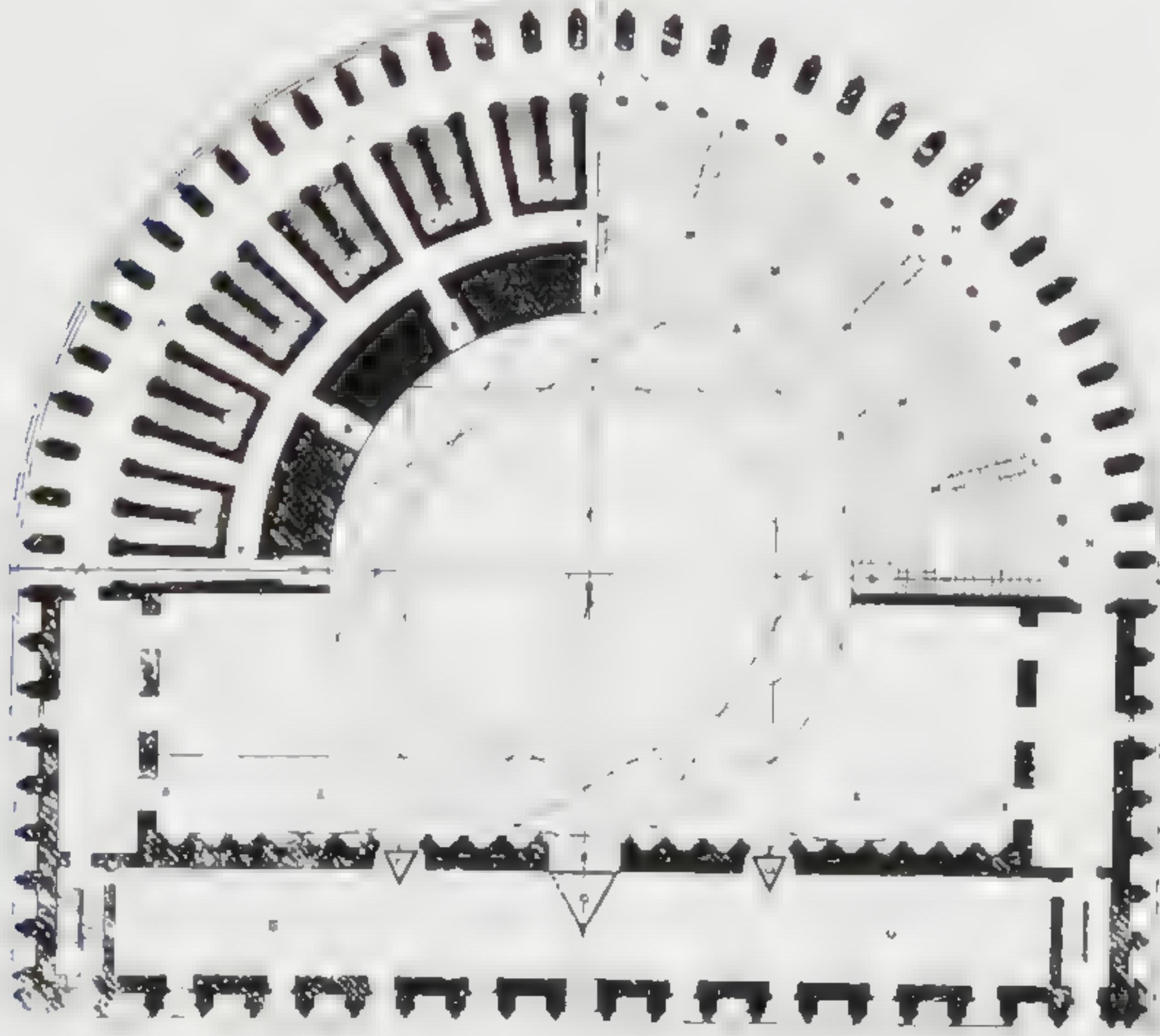
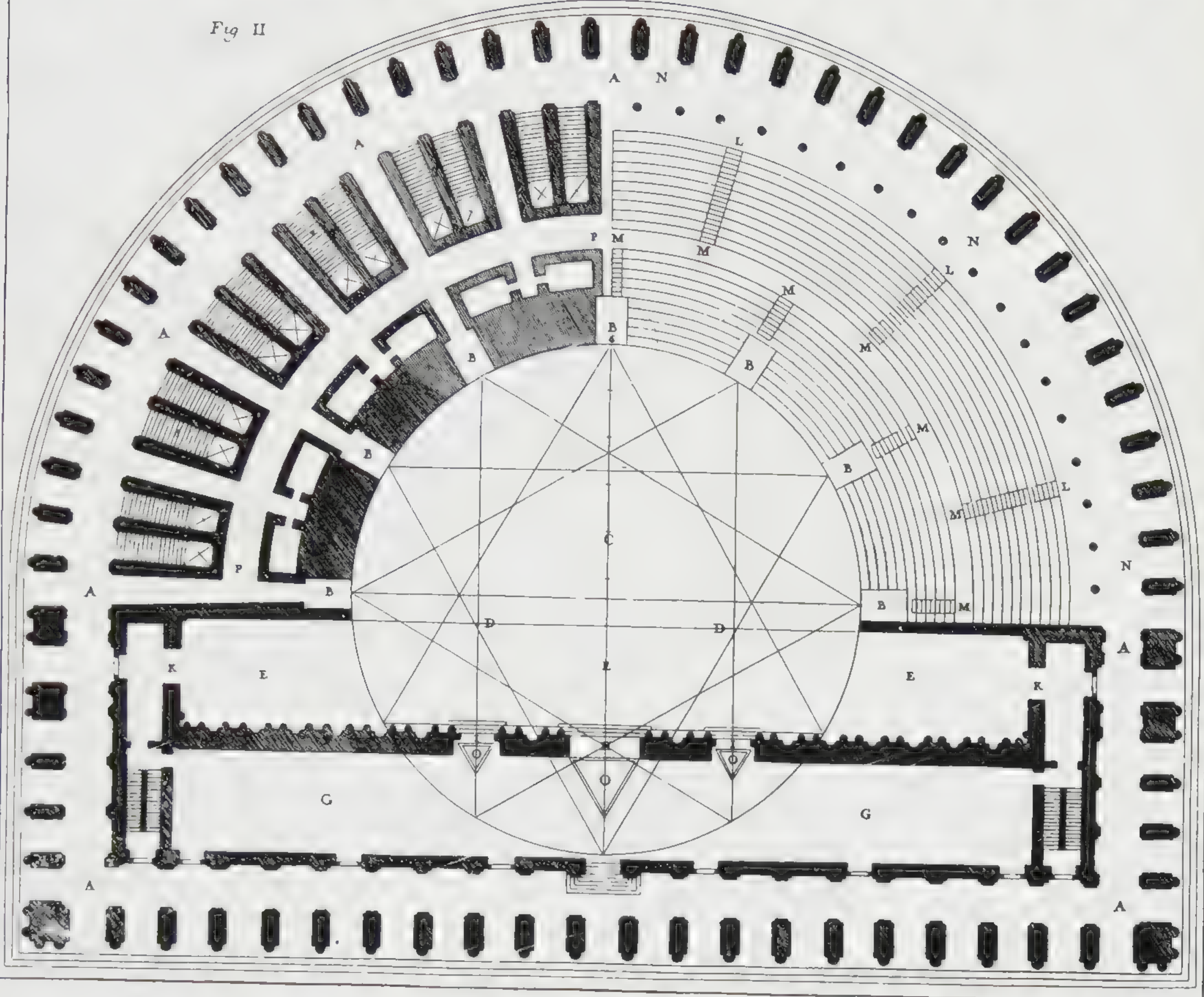


Fig II



Given the way the social fabric developed during the Empire, the plebeians eventually spent much of their lives in the theatre and the hippodrome. Under Marcus Aurelius, for example, there were 135 public holidays every year; and about two hundred years later, in A.D. 354, no less than 175 holidays were listed in the calendar, of which 101 were connected with the theatre.

To complete the picture of theatrical life in Rome up to the first century



8. Menander. Mosaic floor in the House of Menander, Mytilene. 3rd c. A.D.

B.C., let us not forget that before Pompey the Great had his own theatre built in 55 B.C.,⁴¹ performances were held in makeshift wooden structures out of doors, with stands for the spectators consisting of raked tiers of benches made of ordinary planks, with openings here and there for the actors to make their entrances and exits. Yet there was no theatre life in Rome in the modern sense of the term, because theatrical performances were always part of ritual festivities of some kind, such as triumphs, rites for the consecration of a new temple, funerals and,

above all, official state festivals: the *ludi Megalenses* in April, the *ludi Apollinares* in July, the *ludi Romani* in September and the *ludi plebei* in November.⁴² And here we come up against a contradiction: although the Romans flocked to the theatre in large numbers, giving their support to that great cultural and social practice, until the Empire the protagonists of the theatrical world – actors and musicians – did not enjoy comparable status: in fact, an order issued by the praetor stated that ‘Any person who goes on stage to act or recite lines shall be held in dishonour.’⁴³ Nor was it only a matter of moral standing, of course, because the disgrace had a major impact on the actor’s life: the censor erased his name from the roll of his tribe and so he lost his legal and civil rights.⁴⁴

The prologues to Plautus’s *Poenulus* and Terence’s *Hecyra* hint at the nature of the audience which the impresarios were trying to reach. Although theatrical performances started to have a better reputation from 194 B.C., with the best seats being reserved for senators and members of the nobility, the

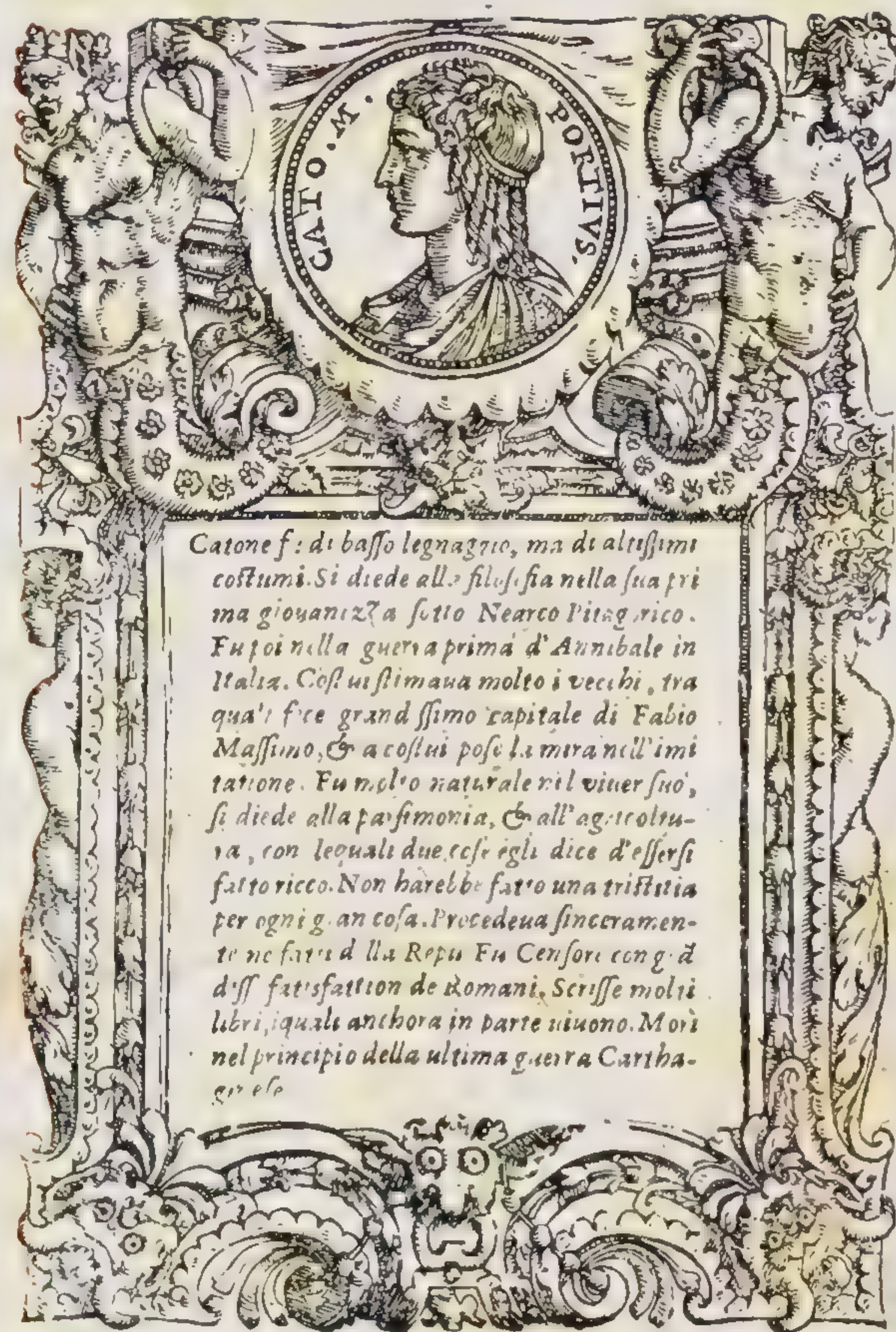
9. Fresco of the stage set from a comedy in the 1st c. A.D. New York, Metropolitan Museum.



audience was still very mixed, for there was no discrimination by class, sex or age.⁴⁵ From the time of Plautus onwards it was not unknown for a play to be given more than one performance, which seems to reflect wider interest and perhaps a more serious approach to theatrical writing, yet even then the great mass of the public was hardly interested even in knowing the original works on which the plays were based. The Roman theatre-going public of the time

of Plautus, Terence and Caecilius simply cannot be compared with the audiences that went to see plays at the great festivals such as the Delphic Soteria, for the latter had read other works by the author of the play they were going to see and they were quite capable of intelligent criticism.⁴⁶

The general organization of theatrical life suggests that books on theatrical subjects played an integral part in it. We have seen that a decree of the Senate, issued in 207 B.C. in honour of Livius Andronicus, granted permission for the formation of a guild of dramatists and actors which was nominally religious in character; and judging by what we know of Andronicus's interest in books, it is likely that the guild had some sort of library of poetry and drama books in



10. Marcus Porcius Cato. Engraving from Plutarch, *Lives*.

Greek and Latin in which established and up-and-coming playwrights would deposit copies of their works.⁴⁷ Terence informs us that in his own time there was a standard procedure for the official perusal of scripts of plays and the sale of the rights to them; and that rival guilds were allowed to attend the readings and to raise objections regarding other parties' bids relating to technical matters.⁴⁸ In other words there was a series of provisions in force for monitoring plays from the writing of the script to the final performance on stage.

We may wonder what motivated the dramatists and what were their attitudes towards audiences primarily interested in enjoying the music that accompanied all productions and in the twists of the plot that made an immediate impact on them.

Horace exhorted Roman satirists to model their work on original Greek plays, adding that it did not matter whether or not they succeeded in making the audience laugh: the important thing was the experts' opinion on whether the plays had been written in accordance with the rules laid down by the Alexandrian literary scholars.⁴⁹ After all, what really counted was to create a literary monument exemplifying the evolution of the Roman collective memory as a continuation of that of the Greeks. And so dramatists, with an eye on their reputation and their place in literary history, did not rely solely on the public stage performance of their plays but branched out on to other paths as well: public recitations to small, select audiences, performances with rudimentary staging in rich men's villas and for coteries of intellectuals. Then, after listening to the constructive 'literary' criticism they received on these occasions, they revised the style and language of many of their plays, which acquired substance as literary works in their own right and won a place for themselves in bookshops and, later, on library shelves.⁵⁰

Political and social upheavals in the time of Cato. Hand in hand with their cultural activities, from the middle of the second century B.C. the Romans embarked on an all-conquering drive for expansion which not only altered the geopolitical situation in the West and East but also affected their own political and social system, as all the Mediterranean countries apart from Mauritania and some Balkan principalities had forged close political links with Rome in one way or another. And so, from being a major power in Italy, Rome had evolved into a world power responsible for administering what was by the standards of the time a vast area extending over the whole length and breadth of the Mediterranean. One consequence of this was that the system developed by the Romans, though well suited to the needs of a small, compact state, eventually started to feel the strain and reveal its shortcomings as an instrument for organizing and administering an empire; and this was to have a profound impact on the political and social fabric of Roman life. One of the social changes manifested itself in public affairs as the old hereditary aristocracy was gradually supplanted by an 'aristocracy' of office-holders, the *nobiles*. The new caste that came into being in this way was intended to keep control over elections to the various statutory political offices, including the consulship.⁵¹

On the cultural plane, the Romans' way of life and their whole behaviour were considerably altered by the Scipios' philhellenism, the influence of their scholarly circle, the dependence of those scholars on the Stoics in general and

*Rome's cultural
 horizons are broadened*

Panaetius in particular, the ascendancy of Greek as an essential tool for every educated Roman citizen, the Greek-oriented system of education and the importation of Greek customs into Roman everyday life. Splendid collections of books started arriving in Rome, broadening the intellectual horizons of Roman scholars, and with them came numerous works of art, especially sculptures. From the end of the second century B.C., superior Romans and members of the aristocracy started decorating their villas with copies of great Classical and Hellenistic statues which they bought from workshops in Athens and Corinth, with the result that Rome soon came to be a vast museum of Greek art.

Against this Hellenizing trend one man stood firmly opposed. That was Cato the Elder, who did his utmost to preserve the old Roman puritanical code of conduct (*mos maiorum*). His efforts were apparently to no avail, but he does deserve special mention, not only for his stand on social issues but also for his political and literary activities, which were entirely in keeping with the needs of the period. He was also the most widely-read man of his time.

Marcus Porcius Cato was born at Tusculum in 234 and died in Rome in 149 B.C., overlapping with Ennius at the beginning of his life and with Lucilius at the end.⁵² He was made a *tribūnus militum* at a very early age, in 214, and the campaigns then in progress in Southern Italy brought him into contact with Pythagoreans, whose ideas were to influence some of his writings. As we have seen, it was Cato who brought Ennius to Rome from Sardinia; and it was from Ennius that he later learnt Greek.⁵³ Being a staunch champion of the Romans' language and culture, he went to Athens to rebut the Greeks' anti-Roman propaganda, and when he made a speech there the Athenians were struck by the fact the Greek interpreter used so many more words to convey his meaning than Cato did in Latin. 'With the Greeks, words [come] from the lips; with the Romans, from the heart' was a dictum of his.

Cato reached the peak of his career in 184 B.C., when he was elected censor with L. Valerius Flaccus and started implementing his stated programme to such effect that he has gone down in history as the epitome of the censor for all time. He was not afraid to castigate the Romans themselves for their arrogance (*superbia*) when they were talking openly about declaring war on the Rhodians: his words on this occasion were an early example of a political speech advocating *humanitas*.⁵⁴

Even with the demands of his political career, Cato was still able to devote half his time to writing, and his work may be said to mark the beginning of Latin historiography. In the first place, as a *novus homo* (one who attained

nobilitas through his own achievements), he was the first Roman to make fair copies of his own speeches and keep them in his private library: Cicero had copies of 150 of Cato's speeches in one of his seven libraries, and we know of eighty more.⁵⁵

Not wanting to entrust the education of his son Marcus to Greek slaves working as teachers, he tutored the boy himself and wrote a history of Rome in large script for use as a textbook in the schoolroom.⁵⁶ He was in any case a teacher by nature, his outlook being summed up in the phrase *summum vel discendi studium vel docendi* ('his remarkable zeal for either learning or teaching') said of him (according to Cicero) by Scipio.⁵⁷

Cato lived at a time when the universality of knowledge was still within everybody's reach, as is apparent from his writings and the encyclopaedic knowledge he was still amassing even at a ripe old age. The great libraries of the philosophy schools in Athens were still intact, as were the Pergamum library and the Ptolemies' 'Universal Library' in Alexandria, whose superb collection remained undamaged, which meant that valuable material was available to scholars who wished to use it for their research. It looks as if Cato must also have had access to valuable archival records kept in temples and in the libraries of aristocratic families – material which gradually disappeared during the period of civil war and the proscriptions and was lost for ever. This is apparent not only from the sheer quantity and range of his writings but also from the factual details he gives in his great historical poem *Origines*,⁵⁸ which deals with the history of Rome and its evolution from its foundation until 149 B.C. Not only was the title of this work borrowed from the Greek *Ktiseis* ('stories of the founding of cities') but much of its methodology was modelled on Greek originals. What interests us here, however, is that it could not have been written without reference to Greek historical sources, which Cato must therefore have had at hand.⁵⁹ These would have included works by Callias of Syracuse, Lycus of Rhegium and Polemon of Ilium, writers who are no more than names to us today, as their books are lost. On the founding of cities in Italy, however, Cato would probably have been able to find useful information in the work of Timaeus of Tauromenium.⁶⁰

Cato, who died thirty years before Varro was born, had undoubtedly read and consulted more Greek books than any other Roman of his own time or earlier. What is more, in his way of life as paterfamilias and senator, he was a living embodiment of Xenophon's dictum that a prominent man should be judged not only by his public actions but also by what he does in his spare time.

Philhellenic circles among the aristocracy. In looking at the early writing for the Roman theatre by Andronicus, Ennius and Naevius, Plautus and Terence – a phase characterized by close adherence to the Greek originals of the Middle Comedy – we have seen that there was a conscious Hellenizing tendency in Rome from about 240 B.C. Because of the ways in which it manifested itself, the existence of this trend implies that Roman writers must have been dependent on being able to read Greek books in the original, and at the same time it strengthens the conviction that they would have felt the need to build up a private library of Greek and Latin books, two centuries before the founding of the first public bilingual library in Rome (shortly after 39 B.C.). The prevailing atmosphere is typified by what is known as the Scipionic circle or, as it is called by Kenney, ‘the philhellenic circle of the upper class’. Although many literary scholars object to the use of this term, it is a fact that Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (Africanus Minor, Numantinus) did gather round him a coterie of Greek and Roman descent, though not all of them belonged to the same class as he did.⁶¹ There was a wide gulf, for instance, between Gaius Laelius the younger (consul in 140 B.C.)⁶² and the satirical poet Gaius Lucilius (who came from a wealthy family of *equites*)⁶³ on the one hand and the philosopher Panaetius⁶⁴ on the other, not to mention the historian Polybius,⁶⁵ who was in Rome as a political hostage. There is a moving passage in Polybius’s *Histories* in which the writer describes the relationship between himself and the young Scipio, who looked up to him as his mentor.⁶⁶

The tendency to adopt Greek ways and form scholarly coterie was remarked upon by Terence, who considered that the Greek ethos of *humanitas* should be a compulsory part of the educational syllabus.⁶⁷ This way of thinking was clearly supported by Aemilius Paullus, who, not content with providing his sons with the best Greek teachers, gave them a whole royal library – that of the kings of Macedonia – after his victory over Perseus,⁶⁸ as we shall see.

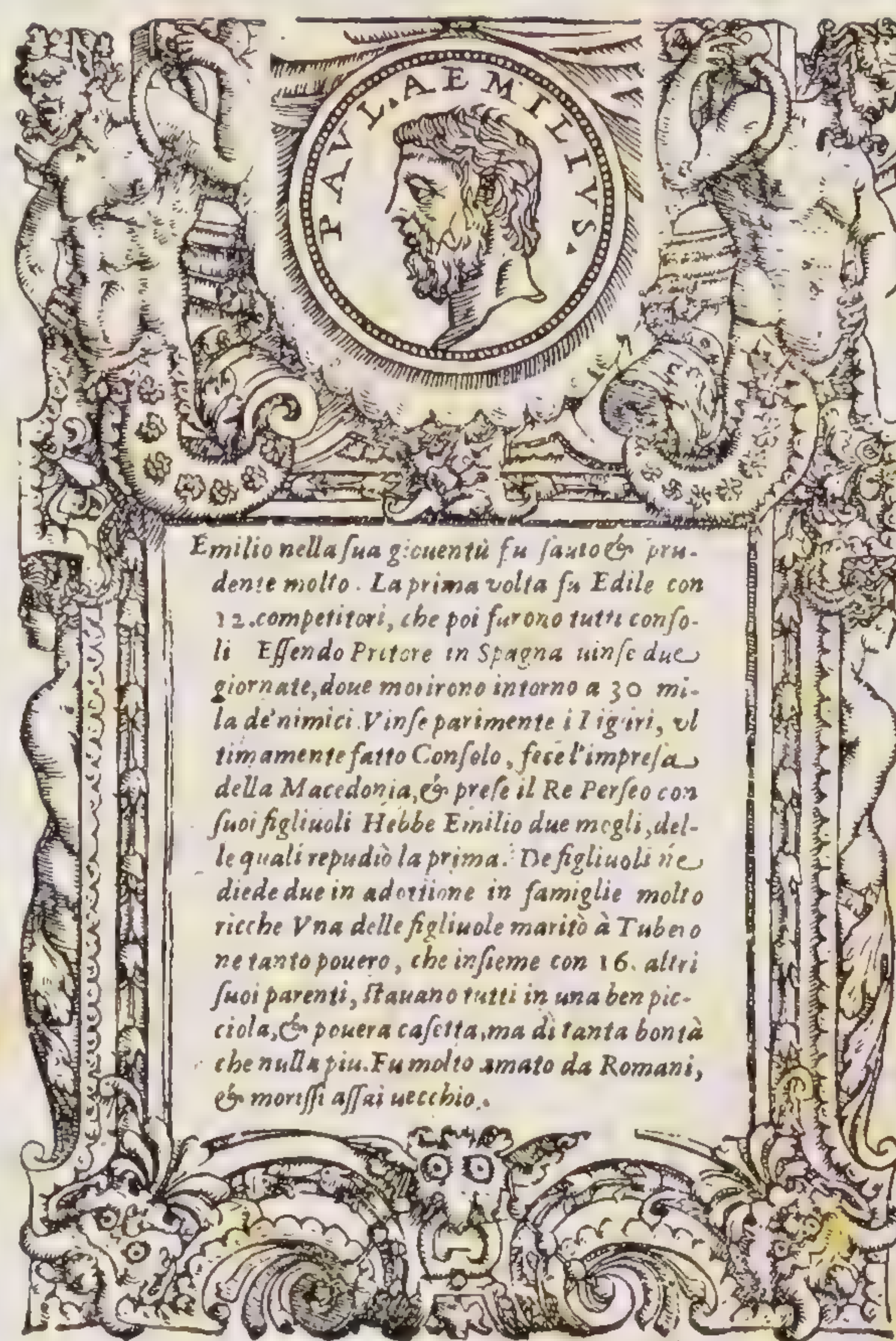
The Macedonian royal library may have provided the nucleus of books used by that ‘philhellenic circle’ in their efforts to evaluate the treasure trove of books unknown to the educated Roman public. After all, one of the characteristics presumably shared by all who belonged to that environment was a serious interest in studying the best things the Greek tradition had to offer, in the hope that that would help to ennoble the Roman character. This impression is strengthened by the intellectual orientation of the others who must have been members of what Cicero (in *De amicitia*) calls Scipio’s ‘flock’, namely the participants in Cicero’s dialogue *De re publica*:⁶⁹ Quintus Aelius Tubero, a politician and philosopher

influenced by Panaetius (it was to Tubero that Hecato, another pupil of Panaetius, dedicated his treatise *On Duty*); Lucius Furius Philus and Publius Sulpicius Rufus, of whom we know that the former had had a philosophical education and the latter was a renowned orator in his day; Gaius Fannius, another of Panaetius's pupils and author of a major historical work entitled *Annales*; Quintus Mucius Scaevola, known as Augur, Gaius Laelius's son-in-law, Stoic philosopher and learned jurist, whose speeches Cicero listened to; and yet another prominent member of Roman society, Manius Manilius, one of the founding fathers of Roman law.

At this point a few words must be said about the central figure of this movement, Publius Cornelius Scipio himself, who was born *circa* 185 B.C., was consul in 147, captured Carthage a year later and died of unexplained causes in 129. From what survives of his work it appears that his natural bent for literature was channelled only into rhetorical speeches, which he wrote to commemorate important events that occurred during his political career. Besides his interest in literature and more particularly in Greek culture, we learn from Cicero that he had a natural talent for creating a friendly atmosphere, gathering friends round him and making even the most low-born plebeian feel comfortable in his presence.

From what we know of him, his overriding concern was to mould the ideal Roman citizen, whose role must be to embody experience of public affairs enriched with foreign – in other words Greek – culture and learning.⁷⁰

The influence of the Pella library on Roman thought. We have remarked on the impact of the royal library of Pella on the Scipionic circle and on education (of which more later); but that rich hoard of books was also instrumental in awakening public interest in philosophy among the Roman people. The Romans now made the acquaintance of books, persons and things



11. Aemilius Paullus. Engraving from Plutarch, *Lives*.

CHAPTER II

*From Livius
Andronicus
to the Scipionic
Circle*

*The cultural
influence of Rhodes*

*Crates on a
diplomatic mission
to Rome*

*Expulsion
of philosophers
from Rome*

they had never heard of, and so Greek philosophy acquired a steady following in Rome, not only in the Scipionic circle but also among those who sampled and espoused the philosophy of the Stoa. The person who introduced the Stoic philosophy into Rome was none other than Panaetius,⁷¹ who, besides being on friendly terms with Scipio and the Roman aristocracy generally, helped to popularize a way of thinking broadly in accordance with the dictates of the Stoic school, namely a strict moral code manifested in readiness to sacrifice oneself for the good of the Roman people and the state itself.⁷² It should be mentioned here that according to the commentator Acron, the Augustan poet and literary scholar Stertinius wrote 220 books of Latin verses setting out the Stoic doctrines.⁷³ Besides the connection with Athens through Panaetius and the Stoa, from the middle of the second century B.C. Rome was linked with two other philosophical centres in the Greek world: Rhodes and Pergamum.

The island republic of Rhodes was not only a considerable maritime power: from the middle of the second century B.C., when the Ptolemies became more 'Egyptianized' and the literary scholars of the Museum left Alexandria, Rhodes came to be perhaps the most important philosophical and educational centre after Athens.⁷⁴ This tradition, which had been maintained since the time of Aristotle's pupil Eudemus, was kept up by well-known rhetoricians and philosophers who went on to teach prominent Roman politicians, including Molon,⁷⁵ who was the teacher of Caesar and Cicero, and Posidonius of Apamea.⁷⁶

One consequence of Rome's close links with Pergamum was that the Romans did not follow the strict scientific approach to textual studies that characterized the Alexandrian scholars. The Roman approach was influenced by the language teaching of Crates of Mallus,⁷⁷ who visited Rome in 168 B.C. as a diplomatic envoy of Pergamum and used his time there to do a good deal of teaching. In fact, while in Rome he had an accident which forced him to prolong his stay, and during his convalescence a 'school' grew up around him. In his teaching he concentrated on the Stoic doctrines and textual criticism, cultivating the Stoic orientation of Roman textual studies and the linguistic approach to literature. As mentioned in the first volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization*, Crates also invented new methods of treating skins to produce a finer type of vellum and promoted exports to Rome.⁷⁸

It need hardly be said that the development of philosophy in Rome and the founding of schools there was not achieved without a struggle. In 173 B.C. the Epicureans Alcaeus⁷⁹ and Philiscus were expelled from the city, and twelve years later, in 161, teachers of philosophy and rhetoric were banned from living

in Rome.⁸⁰ Then in 155 the delegation of philosophers sent from Athens, consisting of the Sceptic Carneades (the head of the Academy), the Stoic Diogenes of Seleucia and the Peripatetic Critolaus of Phaselis, was ordered to leave Rome because of the unfavourable impression created by Carneades' contradictory statements intended to illustrate the inadequacy of traditional values.⁸¹

Education and culture down to the reign of Augustus. Aemilius Paulus's decision to keep the Macedonian royal library for the use of his sons is not the only proof of the Romans' devotion to the written word and to books generally from the second century B.C.: it simply provides a measure of the Roman aristocracy's determination to make every possible aid available for the schooling and general education of the young. That is why wealthy Romans engaged Greek philosophers, rhetoricians and grammarians as tutors for their sons.⁸² The tutors, in turn, were handsomely remunerated and respected for their learning, and eventually they were able to buy their freedom in return for their services, as we have seen in the case of Livius Andronicus. Scipio, for example, employed a staff of Greek teachers specializing in different subjects; and Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, engaged the celebrated rhetoric teacher Diophanes of Mytilene⁸³ and the Stoic philosopher Blossius of Cyme⁸⁴ as tutors to her elder son, Tiberius. Blossius was also Tiberius's counsellor and mentor. Evidence that young Romans were coming into contact with great libraries (not only that of Pella but others too, such as those of the Greek philosophers and grammarians,⁸⁵ that were smaller yet no less important) and beginning to realize the value of acquiring private libraries is to be seen in the educational practices of Cicero's time – notably in the decision by M. Verrius Flaccus to institute writing competitions for which the winner's prize was a beautiful or rare old book.⁸⁶ And since the whole curriculum was largely modelled on Greek educational methods – so much so that boys started learning Greek grammar before Latin grammar⁸⁷ – it is reasonable to conclude that the young came to appreciate the value of having a bilingual library while they were still at school.

Roman educational practices were modelled on those of Greece, as already mentioned, and even in Augustus's reign Roman education was still Greek, to all intents and purposes: that is to say, it was based on Greek poetry and rhetoric. What is more, even Latin poetry, which had its roots in Livius Andronicus and Ennius, was created to support didactic reasoning in a school environment and may be described as the core curriculum of Latin education,

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which – at least in the beginning – was linguistic and literary in character and was adopted with the aim of polishing verbal expression: that was what Quintilian had in mind when he spoke of ‘the art of right speaking and the expounding of the poets’ (*recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem*).⁸⁸ For many young Romans, primary education ended with the grammarian (*grammaticus*) and higher schooling with the orator (*rhetor*). In fact, Suetonius avers that ‘the study of grammar was not even pursued at Rome in the early days’ and that ‘the art of grammar’ did not become an object of study until the middle of the second century B.C.: the person he credits with introducing it into Rome is Crates of Mallus.⁸⁹

To conclude this chapter, I should like to reiterate that those who pursued this Greek-oriented education did not necessarily rest content with the facilities that Rome had to offer, for many members of the aristocracy went on to further studies at various centres of learning in the Greek world. At least as early as 119 B.C., it was quite common for young Romans to take courses at the Ephebeion in Athens⁹⁰ and then attend lectures at one or another of the philosophy schools, for example in Athens or Rhodes.

NOTES

II

From Livius Andronicus
to the Scipionic Circle

NOTES

1. The date of the first stage performance of a play by Livius Andronicus during the *ludi romani* – actually in 240 B.C. – has been disputed. The argument revolves around the accuracy of Accius's statement that it took place in 197 B.C. See Cic., *Brut.* 72; H. B. Mattingly, 'The Date of Livius Andronicus', *CQ* 51 n.s. 7 (1957) 159-163; G. Marconi, 'La cronologia di Livio Andronico', *Atti Accad. dei Lincei*, 363, *MAL* 8, 12, 2, Rome, 1966, 125-213.
2. See P. Grimal, *Le siècle des Scipions. Rome et l'hellénisme au temps des guerres puniques*, Paris, 1975², 41 ff.
3. See J. Scheid, *Religion et piété à Rome*, Paris, 1985, 23-32; G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque. Avec un appendice sur la religion des Etrusques*, Paris, 1987², 457 ff., 494 ff.; J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme, Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique*, Rome, 1988.
4. On Livius Andronicus see S. Mariotti, *Livio Andronico e la traduzione artistica. Saggio critico ed edizione dei fragmenti dell'Odyssea*, Milan, 1952; U. Carratello, *Livio Andronico*, Rome, 1979.
5. Suet., *De gram.* 1.1: 'The study of Grammar was not even pursued at Rome in early days, still less held in any esteem; and naturally enough, since the state was then still uncultivated and given to war, and had as yet little leisure for liberal pursuits. The beginnings of the subject, too, were humble, for the earliest teachers, who were also both poets and Italian Greeks (I refer to Livius and Ennius, who gave instruction in both tongues at home and abroad, as is well known), did no more than interpret the Greeks or give readings from whatever they themselves had composed in the Latin language.'
6. The *decemviri* were a group of ten priests whose business it was to consult the Sibylline Books: see Dumézil, *La religion*, 479-483.
7. The *Collegium scribarum et histrionum* had its meeting-place in the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine Hill. In 207 B.C. its name was changed to *Collegium poetarum* and it moved to the Temple of Hercules and the Muses on the Palatine. See H. Cancik, 'Zur Geschichte der Aedes (Herculis) Musarum auf den Marsfeld', *MDAI (R)* 76 (1969), 325 ff.; and esp. M. Dolç, 'El Collegium poetarum: discrepancias y tensiones en la poesia latina', *Emerita* 39,2 (1971) 270 ff., 289 ff. See also p. 32 herein.
8. Hor., *Epist.* II.1.69-71.
9. On Andronicus's translation of the *Odyssey* see Mariotti, *Livio Andronico*, 20-23; M. Verrusio, *Livio Andronico e la sua traduzione dell'Odissea omerica* [Philologica 6], Rome, 1977; E. Flores, 'L'Odissea di Omero e la traduzione di Livio Andronico', *Lexis* 4 (1989) 65-75.
10. See Kenney & Clausen, *Ἰστορία*, 96-97.
11. *Ibid.*, 96.
12. See H. J. Mette, 'Die römische Tragödie und die Neufunde zur griechischen Tragödie', *Lustrum* 9 (1964) 5-212.
13. See Rose, *Ἰστορία*, I, 34-42; Albrecht, *Ἰστορία*, I, 144-163; and for further information see O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana*, London, 1968.
14. See E. Badian, 'Ennius and his Friends', in *Ennius* [Entretiens Hardt XVII], Geneva, 1971, 149-208.

15. See Badian, 'Ennius', 151-195; Cancik, 'Zur Geschichte', 323-328. On the location of the temple see E. Nash, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, New York, 1961-1962, 471.
16. Macr., *Sat.* I.12.16, I.13.21.
17. See Rose, *Ἱστορία*, I, 37; Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 148; and see esp. R. A. Brooks, *Ennius and the Roman Tragedy* (1949), repr. New York, 1981; W. Röser, *Ennius, Euripides und Homer* (doctoral dissertation), Würzburg-Aumühle, 1939.
18. The title of Ennius's poem was borrowed from the priestly *Annales* instituted by the Pythagorean king Numa Pompilius and continued by the *pontifices*: see H. D. Jocelyn, 'The Poems of Quintus Ennius', *ANRW* 1,2 (1972) 1008-1023. On the *Annales* in particular, see J. H. Waszink, 'The proem of the Annales of Ennius', *Mnemosyne* 4,3 (1950) 215-240, revised version 'Il proemio degli Annales di Ennio', *Maia* 16 (1964) 327-340; R. Reggiani, *I proemi degli Annales di Ennio. Programmata letterario e polemica*, Rome, 1979.
19. Chrysogonus was a writer who lived in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and wrote a spurious work under the name of Epicharmus, as did Axiopistus.
20. Euhemerus's book, entitled *Hiera Anagraphe*, was probably written about fifty years before Ennius was born. Fragments of it have come down to us from a prose abstract of it by Lactantius. See esp. E. Fraenkel, 'Additional Notes on the Prose of Ennius', *Eranos* 40 (1951) 50 ff.
21. On Epicharmus and the various pseudo-philosophical works published in his name see Rose, *Handbook*, 250 ff., 345 ff.; and see esp. L. Berk, *Epicharmus*, Groningen, 1964.
22. See Rose, *Handbook*, 346.
23. *Ibid.*, 210.
24. *Ibid.*, 330.
25. See J. H. Waszink, 'Problems concerning the *Satura* of Ennius', in O. Skutsch et al. (eds.), *Ennius. Sept exposés* [Entretiens Fondation Hardt 17] (Vandoeuvres, 1971), Geneva, 1972, 99-147.
26. On the Greek bibliography available in Ennius's time concerning the regal period, see E. Gabba, 'Considerazioni sulla tradizione letteraria sulle origini della Repubblica', in E. Gjerstad et al., *Les origines de la république romaine* [Entretiens Fondation Hardt 13], 1966-1967, 133-174. On Ennius's Eratosthenic sources see Jocelyn, 'The Poems', 1013.
27. There was a precedent for Ennius's identification with Homer, again from Magna Graecia: Stesichorus, a lyric poet from Mataurus who lived in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., was also said to have been a reincarnation of Homer. This latter tradition is derived from Antipater of Sidon (2nd-1st centuries B.C.), whose epigrams are preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*, 7, 75.
As regards the place where Ennius had his supposed dream of Homer, the consensus among modern scholars is that it was Mount Helicon. At the beginning of the *Annales* Ennius states that he went to Helicon at the invitation of the Muses: there he dreamed of Homer and probably met the Muses when he woke up. See J. H. Waszink, 'Retractatio Enniana', *Mnemosyne* 4,15 (1962) 113-132. Ennius attempts to support his identification with Homer by reference to Southern Italian traditions once again, chiefly the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The Pythagoreans believed that between two poetical existences there occurs a reincarnation in the form of a peacock – a bird which, according to Plato (*Timaeus* 91d), corresponds to the nature of a poet. Moreover, Homer is said to have ad-

- dressed Ennius in Latin hexameters, which explains how the hexameter came to be the standard metre for Latin epic poetry. See A. Setaloli, 'Ennio e gli esametri latini di Omero. Una nuova testimonianza sul proemio degli Annali?', *WS* 97 (1984) 137-142. In all this we see how the Romans felt the need for Ennius to create something comparable with what Homer had created in Greece.
28. See C. O. Brink, 'Ennius and the Hellenistic Worship of Homer', *AJPh* 93 (1972) 547-567.
 29. On Plautus see the standard work by K. H. E. Schutter, *Quibus annis comoediae Plautinae primum actae sint quaeritur* (doctoral dissertation), Groningen, 1952.
 30. Gell., *Noct. Att.* III.14.
 31. The first person to enquire into the authenticity of Plautus's comedies was Aelius Stilo; he was followed later by his pupil Varro. Evidently neither of them had access to reliable sources concerning Plautus's plays. Stilo thought that twenty-five of the comedies were authentic, Varro only twenty-one. The matter was complicated by the fact that books were in circulation containing plays by another comic poet with a very similar name, Plautius.
 32. See Rose, *Ιστορία*, I, 45-47, 48-49, 58.
 33. *Ibid.*, 47-48, 57, 60-61.
 34. *Ibid.*, 51, 58-59.
 35. *Ibid.*, 54-56.
 36. *Ibid.*, 44-45.
 37. See G. P. Shipp, 'Greek in Plautus', *WS* 66 (1953) 105-112.
 38. Livy, VII.2, following Varro.
 39. Livy, XLVIII.55-60, 65.
 40. On the Roman theatre see Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1961²; F. H. Sandbach, *The Comic Theatre of Greece and Rome*, London, 1977; Florence Dupont, *Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τοῦ Ἡθοποιοῦ. Τὸ* *Θέατρο στὴν Ἀρχαία Ρώμη* (= *L'Acteur-roi ou le Théâtre dans la Rome antique*, tr. Sophia Georgakopoulou), Athens, 2003; George E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment*, Princeton, 1952; E. Lefèvre, *Die Römische Komödie: Plautus und Terenz* [Wege der Forschung, Band CCXXXVI], Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1973.
 41. Tac., *Ann.* XIV.20.
 42. On public festivals and ceremonies in Rome see L. E. Taylor, 'The opportunities for dramatic performances in the time of Plautus and Terence', *TAPhA* 68 (1937) 284-304; H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, New York, 1981; M. Tagliafico, 'Ludi-ones, ludi saeculares et ludi scaenici', *Aevum* 68 (1994) 51-57.
 43. *Dig.* 3, 2, 1.
 44. Aug., *De civ. Dei* II.13.
 45. Livy, XXXIV.44.5.
 46. See G. M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama*, London, 1967.
 47. See p. 29.
 48. Ter., *Eun.* 19 ff.
 49. Hor., *Sat.* I.4.1-5, I.10.7-20 and 84-90.
 50. This picture of Roman intellectual life becomes clearer after the introduction of the practice of public *recitatio* promoted by Asinius Pollio, as we shall see (see pp. 141-145).
 51. The three most famous *novi homines* were Cato, who probably owed his social position to the aristocrat L. Valerius Flaccus, and two of Scipio's protégés, C. Laelius and Manius Acilius Glabrius. On the new *nobilitas* see M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility*, tr. R. Seager, New York, 1969.
 52. On Cato see F. Della Corte, *Catone Censore. La vita la fortuna*, Florence, 1962²; A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor*, Oxford/New York, 1978.

53. Plut., *M. Cato* XII.5-7.
54. See H. Haffter, 'Politisches Denken in alten Rom', *SIFC*, n.s. 17 (1940) 97-121.
55. See B. Janzer, *Historische Untersuchungen zu den Redenfragmenten des M. Porcius Cato* (doctoral dissertation), Würzburg-Aumühle, 1937; N. Scivoletto, 'L'oratio contra Galbano e le Origines di Catone', *GIF* 14 (1961) 63-68.
56. This was not the *Origines*, of course; but Cato did put a great deal of time into the writing of textbooks for his son (*Libri ad Marcum filium*).
57. Cic., *De re pub.* II.1.
58. See H. Peter, 'Wahrheit und Kunst', *HRR*, 282-287; F. Bömer, 'Thematik und Krise der römischen Geschichtsschreibung', *Historia* 2 (1953-1954) 189-209.
59. See L. Moretti, 'Les Origines di Catone. Timeo ed Eratostene', *RFIC* 30 (1952) 289-302.
60. Callias of Syracuse, who flourished around 300 B.C., lived at the court of the Syracusan ruler Agathocles and wrote a book entitled *History of Agathocles*, containing facts about the early history of Rome. Fragments of his work are preserved by Duris of Samos and Timaeus of Tauromenium.

A contemporary of Callias was Lycus of Rhegium, who wrote a *History of Sicily* with an ethnographic slant, enlivened by strange and wonderful stories.

Polemon of Ilium, a travel writer and geographer who lived in the third and second centuries B.C., concentrated on books about the founding of cities in Sicily and other Greek regions of Italy.

Timaeus of Tauromenium was active in the fourth and third centuries B.C., at first in his native city. Later, after the seizure of power by Agathocles, he went into self-imposed exile in Athens, where he lived for fifty years. His work, known by

various titles (*Italica*, *Sicelica*, *Histories*), deals mainly with the geography and history of Lower Italy and is entirely based on sources that he found in the libraries of Athens. His scholarly, critical approach to his material and his evaluation of the evidence for the facts he recorded won him a high reputation and made him more authoritative than most: many Roman and Greek writers of similar works, including Posidonius, Strabo, Pompeius Trogus, Nepos and Plutarch, drew valuable material from him.

61. See R. M. Brown, *A Study of the Scipionic Circle*, Scottdale, Pa., 1934; A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus*, Oxford, 1967, esp. 295-306 (on the Scipionic circle); in general, see Grimal, *Le siècle des Scipions*; H. Strasburger, 'Der "Scipionenkreis"', *Hermes* 94 (1966) 60-72.
62. Gaius Laelius the younger was born circa 190 B.C. and rose to prominence mainly as a politician and orator. He was a close friend of Scipio's (it was he who delivered Scipio's funeral oration) and Cicero celebrated the friendship between them in his dialogue entitled *Laelius de amicitia*. Because of his association with Greek Stoic philosophers he was known as *Sapiens* ('the Wise'). Such were his philosophical and literary interests (for he was Terence's patron) that later writers, especially Cicero, ranked him as one of the leaders of the Scipionic circle.
63. Gaius Lucilius was probably born in about 180 B.C. and was given a thorough and very wide-ranging education, perhaps including a period of study in Athens, where he mixed with the Platonists of the Academy. He made his name as a serious satirical poet. He was an intimate of Scipio and other members of his circle, frequently entered the lists in defence of his friends and when challenged was not

afraid to cross swords with men of the highest rank, showing an independence of spirit unusual in a Roman poet. Lucilius was an intellectual and a militant poet with a profound outlook on life, to judge by the treatise dedicated to him by Cleitomachus, the head of the Platonic Academy (Cic., *Acad.* II.102).

His plays deal with a wide range of subjects and are notable for their honest portrayal and scathing criticism of the way people lived, directed as much against his own friends as against those he had antagonized by his satire. It is interesting to note that before his poems were published they were read to a small circle of friends, even though he himself had said that he did not want them to be read by either very highly-educated or very uneducated people. In 123 B.C. or shortly after, Lucilius published five books containing a collection of the the savagely satirical poems that had given him a bad reputation in the preceding ten years, prefaced by a poem in which he stated his motives and intentions. By the time they were published, however, many of the targets of his invective, including Pacuvius and Lentulus Lupus, were dead. Subsequently his satires were published by friends of his, first by C. Laelius Archelaus and Vettius Philocomus (Suet., *De gram.* II) and later in a revised edition edited by Valerius Cato and Curtius Nicias (a grammarian from Cos and friend of Cicero's).

Stoa. They advocate a moral code aligned to the practice of daily life, and in this way they built a bridge between the Stoa and Roman thinking.

65. Polybius was born at Megalopolis in the Peloponnese, *circa* 200 B.C., and held a position of political and military authority in the Achaean League. After the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.) he was one of the thousand people from the Achaean League who were taken to Rome as hostages. Yet despite his status he was highly regarded by the Roman aristocracy and made friends with many men active in politics, notably Scipio, and so he acquired a detailed, in-depth knowledge of the structure and administrative system of the Roman state. Substantial parts of his *Histories* have come down to us: the complete work amounts to a history of the world from 220 to 140 B.C., in which he describes and explains the rise of Rome to its position as the dominant power in the Mediterranean.
66. Polyb., XXXI.23-26: '... Now I have already explained that the acquaintance [between Polybius and Scipio] took its origin in the loan of some books and conversation about them....'
67. Between 180 and 160, in the philhellenic circles in which Terence grew up, the word *humanitas* was apparently a catchword in standard use to convey the meaning of the Greek *anthropos* and *anthropinos* as found in Menander's plays, which were included in the Roman educational syllabus (Plut., *M. Cato* xx.5).
68. Plut., *Aem. Paul.* XXVIII: 'Nor did men less praise his liberality, and the greatness of his soul, than his other virtues; for he would not so much as see those great quantities of silver and gold, which were heaped together out of the king's palaces, but delivered them to the quaestors, to be put into the public treasury. He only per-

64. Panaetius, born on Rhodes *circa* 185 B.C., studied at Pergamum and attended the Stoic school in Athens before going to Rome. There he made friends with persons prominent in Roman society, notably Scipio and Laelius. His writings mark a turning-point in Stoic literature, ushering in what is known as the Middle

mitted his own sons, who were great lovers of learning, to take the king's books; and when he distributed rewards due to extraordinary valour, he gave his son-in-law, Aelius Tubero, a bowl that weighed five pounds. This is that Tubero we have already mentioned, who was one of sixteen relations that lived together, and were all maintained out of one little farm; and it is said that this was the first plate that ever entered the house of the Aelii, brought thither as an honour and reward of virtue; before this time, neither they nor their wives ever made use either of silver or gold.'

69. Cic., *De amic.* XIX.69: 'But it is of the highest importance in friendship that the better man should put himself on an equality with his inferior. For there are often certain instances of superiority, such as was that of Scipio in our own flock, if I may so call it. He never set himself before Philus, or Rupilius, or Mummius, or his friends of humbler rank; while Quintus Maximus his brother, an admirable man it is true, but by no means equal to himself, he used to honour as though he were his superior, because he surpassed him in years; and he used to wish that all his friends could receive more dignity by his efforts.'
70. Cic., *De re pub.* III.4-5: 'For what can be more admirable than the union of experience in the management of great affairs with the study and mastery of those other arts? Or who can be considered closer to the ideal than Publius Scipio, Gaius Laelius, and Lucius Philus, who, for fear of omitting something that might be necessary to the complete excellence of eminent men, added the foreign learning which originated with Socrates to the traditional customs of their own country and their ancestors?'
71. The harbingers of the introduction of

philosophy to Rome were the poets, who were inspired by the cultural attainments of Magna Graecia and especially by its dramatists and philosophers, as we have seen in the case of Ennius (see pp. 29-36). On Panaetius and his contribution to philosophy in Rome see L. Labowsky, *Die Ethik des Panaitios*, Leipzig, 1934; K. Abel, 'Die Kulturelle Mission des Panaitios', *AJA* 17 (1971) 122-127. More generally, see E. Zeller and G. Nestle, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας*, (= *Grundriss der Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, tr. Ch. Theodoridis), Athens, 2002¹³, 317 ff., 329; K. D. Georgoulis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας*, Athens, 2000³, 410-412.

Unlike Stoicism, Epicureanism started to win a following in Rome in the time of Caesar and Cicero. A major centre of Epicurean studies was then established in Neapolis under the dominant personality of the last great head of the Epicurean school, Philodemus, as we shall see in connection with the papyri found in the Villa of the Papyri (see p. 227).

72. Among those who were connected with the Stoics in Rome from the time of Panaetius onwards were Laelius the Younger, Q. Aelius Tubero, C. Fannius, Spurius Mummius, C. Blossius, P. Rutilius Rufus, Valerius Soranus, L. Aelius Stilo, Q. Mucius Scaevola, Sextus Pompeius, Cato the Younger, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Tertullian and Terence.
73. Acr. Hel., *Ad Hor.* I.12.20.
74. See K. Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization, I: From Minos To Cleopatra*, Athens, 2003.
75. Apollonius the son of Molon, who later changed his own name to Molon, was a teacher of rhetoric in the first century B.C. who started his career in Rhodes. From 87 to 81 B.C. he was the Rhodian ambassador in Rome, where his lectures were

- attended by Cicero, Caesar, M. Favonius and T. Torquatus, among others.
76. Posidonius, a philosopher of the second and first centuries B.C., was born *circa* 135 and studied under Panaetius in Rhodes, where he subsequently opened a school of his own. He went to Rome as a member of a diplomatic mission in 85 B.C. and may have met Cicero there. He continued his teaching career in Rhodes until 51 B.C., and the numerous pupils and auditors who attended his lectures included Hortensius and no less a person than Pompey, who twice visited him in Rhodes.
77. Crates was said by Suetonius to have been the person who introduced the systematic study of grammar to Rome: Suet., *De gram.* II.
78. Ioannes Laurentius Lydus, *On the Months* I.28: 'The Romans call these "Pergamene skins".' Cf. Staikos, *The History of the Library*, I, 252, 254.
79. This was Alcaeus of Messene (*fl. ca.* 200 B.C.), the author of a number of political epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology*. The scathing tone of these epigrams was later imitated by Catullus.
80. Suet., *De rhet.* I.
81. Tradition has it that the delegation of philosophers was expelled because Carneades, to the astonishment of his audience, put forward two contradictory interpretations of the concept of justice in politics on two consecutive days, whereupon Cato ordered them to leave at once.
82. On education in the ancient world see the standard work by H. I. Marrou, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα* (= *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, tr. Th. Fotinopoulos), Athens 1961⁵, 325 ff.
83. Cic., *Brut.* 104; Marrou, *Ἱστορία*, 347.
- When Diophanes (one of the most famous of Greek orators, according to Cicero) was expelled from his birthplace, Mytilene, he went to Rome as a refugee and acquired a large group of pupils. He supported the political programme of Tiberius Gracchus, whose policies led them both to their undoing.
84. Plut., *Ti. Gr.* VIII.17; Marrou, *Ἱστορία*, 347.
- Blossius, a close friend of the Scaevola family, was one of the staunchest supporters and friends of Tiberius Gracchus. On being convicted of abetting the latter's political schemes, he fled to the court of Aristonicus, king of Pergamum. He committed suicide when Aristonicus was defeated by the Romans in 132 B.C.
85. I am referring to collections of books acquired in Rome by people like Diophanes and Blossius, Panaetius and Polybius.
86. Marcus Verrius Flaccus, a freedman, made a great reputation for himself by his teaching methods, and for that reason Augustus appointed him tutor to his grandsons: see Suet., *De gram.* XVII.
87. Quint., *Inst.* I.1.12: 'I prefer a child to start with Greek, because Latin, which is in common use, is something he will absorb whether we wish it or not; and also because he should first be instructed in the Greek branches of learning, from which our own are derived.'
88. Quint., *Inst.* I.4.2.
89. Suet., *De gram.* I-II.
90. See Marrou, *Ἱστορία*, 347.

III

FROM VARRO
TO
CICERO



FROM VARRO TO CICERO

Private libraries and the book trade to the end of the Republic

For about a hundred years after the death of Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus the Younger (127 B.C.), Rome was racked by continuous internal unrest, with intrigues and conspiracies, political upheavals and a redistribution of wealth, all of which led eventually to the fall of the Republic (31 B.C.). The first key event of this historic period is reflected in the tragic fate of the brothers Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus, who strove vainly to establish a new sociopolitical order by means of far-reaching social reforms and a redistribution of land. But after the assassination of Gaius in 122 B.C. the oligarchy gradually resumed the role of political arbiter and turned the civil guard into a pawn of its own. The highest offices of state were held by a succession of powerful men of dubious character and there ensued a wave of banishments and proscriptions, most of whose victims were senators. In the circumstances, it was not long before the bonds holding the Senate together began to loosen, until it was in danger of degenerating into a disorderly bunch of lackeys. The threat of a redistribution of land to military veterans terrified those who had escaped proscription, and so, in the general climate of uncertainty, many Romans became preoccupied with their inner life.¹

The aristocrats were able to retreat from the hurly-burly of public life to the seclusion of their many villas outside Rome and in small provincial towns. This was a period when the enormous riches amassed by the ruling class was gradually beginning to transform the traditional 'moderate' social mores of the Romans into recklessly extravagant ostentation, both in public affairs and in the aristocrats' private lives. For example, Roman *nobiles* commonly owned not only a town house in the capital – preferably on the Palatine Hill, which was considered the prime location – but also one or more villas in idyllic rural spots and seaside resorts on the west coast, as far south as the Bay of Naples.² Cicero, for example, who was not noted for his wealth, spent 750,000 denarii on his house on the Palatine³ and had at least seven villas in the country.

*Aristocrats'
retreats in the
provinces*

1. *Muses and philosophers. Detail from the sarcophagus of Publius Peregrinus. Rome, Museo Torlonia.*

Roman villas, designed on Greek architectural lines, were luxurious retreats providing the owners and their families and friends with every possible amenity. Opening off the colonnaded galleries that protected the attractive courtyards and gardens from prying eyes there were palaestrae (private 'gymnasiums' for wrestling and other forms of physical training), recreation rooms, baths, luxurious bedrooms and – always – libraries.⁴ In these surroundings the owners could pursue their literary interests at their leisure, the atmosphere was conducive to scholarly and philosophical discussions, and aspiring poets and prose writers could try out their latest work on a critical audience.

That Roman intellectuals felt insecure as the structure of ancient Roman society crumbled around them is abundantly clear: Lucretius opens his poem *De rerum natura* with an invocation to Venus which is, in effect, a prayer for peace, and he ends it with a horrific account of the plague in Athens as described by Thucydides. In between he seeks solace in philosophy and extols the wisdom of his preceptor, Epicurus. Catullus sought fulfilment in love; Nigidius Figulus set out to revive Pythagoreanism; and from 53 B.C. Memmius lived in exile in Athens, where he frequented Epicurean circles (Cicero, *Ad fam.* XIII.1). In this climate of uncertainty and proscriptions, two of the most important libraries of the period were broken up and dispersed: those of Varro and Cicero, two men who spearheaded the drive to collect written works of any kind that offered an insight into the beginnings of Roman literature – and also into its Greek ancestry.⁵

A lost library: the case of Varro. Julius Caesar entrusted Varro with the task of selecting the books for a Roman public library with a representative cross-section of Greek and Latin literature. If that library had survived, or even if we had only the catalogue of the books in Varro's own private library, our knowledge of ancient libraries and great collectors of papyrus rolls would be immeasurably greater than it is.

Marcus Terentius Varro was born in Rome in 116 B.C., according to St. Augustine, and died at a great age in 27 B.C. In other words, his lifetime coincided with an important chapter of Roman cultural life: he was ten years older than Cicero yet was still alive when Augustus became Emperor.⁶ In literature, too, he spanned two different periods: the man who in his youth dedicated *De antiquitate litterarum* to Accius would be lucky enough to read Virgil's *Georgics* in his old age. Varro was brought up in accordance with the strict Roman code of conduct, and the great grammarian L. Aelius Stilo initiated

him into the Stoic scholarly tradition. He went to Athens, where he attended the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon at the Academy, studied the Platonic tradition which traced its origins back to the ancient Academy and, at the same time, showed leanings towards Stoicism on certain points. Armed with these qualifications, and after serving the Roman state in various political capacities, he withdrew to his estate and devoted himself to study (59-50 B.C.), gathering round him a sort of school.

When Caesar returned from Egypt, having conquered Alexandria in 47 B.C. and seen for himself the dominant role played by the Ptolemies' library in Greek intellectual life, he instructed Varro, whose scholarship he trusted, to find and acquire books of all kinds with the object of building up a bilingual (Greek and Latin) book collection, the ultimate aim being to found the first public library in Rome.⁷ By Caesar's act of faith in entrusting the formation of the library to him, not only did Varro earn public recognition for his polymathy but the project assumed the dimensions of a national cause. Suetonius's brief reference to the plan provides no clues as to what Caesar initially had in mind, that is to say the precise nature of the work Varro was to do. Nor is there any evidence to be found anywhere as to whether Varro summarized the results of his researches in his lost work *De bibliothecis*.⁸

It is worth reiterating here that Caesar's initiative for the founding of the first Roman public library may perhaps have been connected – as already mentioned in the first volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization*⁹ – with the 40,000 papyrus rolls destroyed by the fire in the royal warehouses in the Alexandria docks when the city was being besieged by Achillas, or with the alleged destruction of the Ptolemies' library by fire as an accidental consequence of Caesar's defensive tactics.

Considering the extremely broad range of Varro's writings, it is easy to see why he was described as 'the most erudite of Romans': indeed, he was a perfect example of his compatriots' natural inclination towards encyclopaedic learning. Certainly he was a great epitomizer, and he employed his talents in offering Roman readers a new thematic oeuvre, although one cannot help

*The projected first
public library*



2. Marcus Terentius Varro, Engraving from A. Thevet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris 1584.

*Varro's literary
output*

noticing his debt to his Greek originals and the Greek methodology he applies in his work. Varro was not content merely to compile encyclopaedic reference works, for he himself wrote philosophical treatises based on the theories of his teacher Antiochus and the precepts of the ancient Academy. On reading some of his highly complex works, one keeps wondering what reference books he

had at his disposal, how big his own library was and, most of all, what he possessed in the way of Greek books, which were available in Rome from early in the first century B.C.¹⁰

One of the greatest of his encyclopaedic works was *Disciplinae*, a treatise on the liberal arts, that is those studies that should form the basis of a liberal education and, according to Varro, should be cultivated by every free man.¹¹ Of his grammatical writings, perhaps the most noteworthy is *Hebdomades* or *Imagines* in fifteen books, containing seven hundred portraits of eminent Greek and Roman politicians and savants.¹² This was the first illustrated Roman book we know of; the text consisted of brief character sketches of

the subjects. Outstanding among Varro's writings is one of his works on antiquarian and historical subjects, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, covering the history of Roman civilization in forty-one books, with the material arranged in separate articles.¹³ This massive work was the Romans' great encyclopaedia, a treasure-house of all the facts and knowledge in existence about man, the state and the godhead. In it, using proven criteria of the Stoic way of approaching and interpreting things, Varro set out to present a comprehensive corpus of every branch of knowledge that had been studied individually until then.

Another didactic work by Varro, this time on agriculture, was *De re rustica*, of which three books survive. It is of interest here because the third book is dedicated to a young friend of his, the son of T. Pinnius, who is described as



3. Marcus Terentius Varro, *De lingua latina*, Lyon, Haeredes Sebastiani Gryphii, 1563.

mire studiosus et eruditus ('marvellously studious and erudite'). Varro tells us that Pinnius owned a splendid villa in which he had copies of some of his own books, presumably in a private library.¹⁴

The remarkable wealth of literary resources that Varro had at his disposal for the writing of his books is truly astonishing, considering that there was still no public library – nor any other kind of state library – in Rome or anywhere else in the Italian peninsula. And considering also how reclusive he became from the middle of the first century B.C., he must already have acquired a fine collection of books when he was in Athens, to have so much raw material available for research for his own writing. We have to remember, of course, that his profound knowledge of the Latin literary tradition was one of the accomplishments that enabled him to pursue his textual studies, as when he compiled his catalogue of the authentic comedies of Plautus.¹⁵ It should also be noted that although Varro had sided openly with Pompey, Caesar pardoned him, perhaps because he realized that there was no one in all the territories under Roman rule better qualified to bring his library plans to fruition in a manner worthy of the great Greek tradition of books and the Ptolemies' library in particular. After Caesar's assassination, however, Varro was proscribed by Antony (43 B.C.), his villa at Casinum was razed to the ground and his priceless library was dispersed (Gell., x.17). He himself escaped death with the help of a friend, Q. Fufius Calenus. When Octavian finally emerged victorious, Varro, with the backing of his friend Atticus, was again *persona grata* and remained in favour until his death in 27 B.C.

If we were to try to deduce the titles of some of the Greek books in Varro's library from the sources he probably used for his writings, we would find a great many scientific and historical books by the Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea and the grammarian Aelius Stilo, who taught Varro. He must also have had the satirical sketches by Menippus of Gadara, the treatise on agriculture by Mago of Carthage (in the adaptation by Cassius Dionysius or the abridged version by Diophanes),¹⁶ the *Chronica* of Castor of Rhodes and *Life in Greece* by Dicaearchus. In the philosophy section he would presumably have had the works of Philo of Larissa and certainly the dialogue *Sosus* by his own teacher Antiochus of Ascalon. *Lives of Men Famous for their Learning* by Hermippus of Smyrna and *Collection of Books* and *The Uses of Books* by Artemon of Cassandreia must certainly have been in his library, as well as many other historical and scientific works by writers from Lower Italy, which had been used regularly by compilers of Roman works of reference from Livius Andronicus to Ennius.¹⁷

Grammarians' libraries. Roman men of letters had not been directly and necessarily dependent on a well-stocked library until the *grammatici* appeared on the scene in the mid second century B.C. The *grammatici*¹⁸ and *rhetores*¹⁹ (teachers of rhetoric) did not confine themselves to their teaching duties, as more or less defined by their titles, but were also instrumental in promoting the wider dissemination of Latin and Greek literature. In this way, besides helping to create the 'republic of letters', they laid the foundations of the strict discipline of ancient Roman schools, on both the linguistic level and in the matter of textual studies, by setting their pupils to read poetry and classifying knowledge under separate subject headings.²⁰ Let us not forget Suetonius's testimony that at times there were more than twenty well-attended schools in Rome.²¹ The *grammatici* did not spend all their time preparing their lessons: they wrote commentaries, epitomes and scholia on existing works, which even well-established poets found useful as reference works. Sometimes passages from earlier works in Latin which would not otherwise have come down to us are preserved in their books. Many of the *grammatici* had high reputations and charged disproportionately high fees for their work, like the Sophists. They made it their business to obtain works of early Latin literature, which they would often publish in annotated critical editions. Whatever their merits or failings, the nature of their work presupposes that they used books as the basic 'tools of their trade'. As we have seen,²² the study of grammar and literary criticism as such were introduced by Crates of Mallus, who spent some time in Rome in 168 B.C., just after Ennius's death. While there he opened a school whose curriculum included a more systematic critical approach to little-known and little-read poetical works, which consequently became known to a wider readership.²³ For example, Gaius Octavius Lampadio edited the *Punic War* (*Bellum Poenicum*) of Naevius and published it in seven books, whereas previously it had been a one-volume work.²⁴ At the same time other grammarians started giving readings of historical and poetical works to large audiences, with comments on them, thus adding those titles to the canon of established works. One such was Quintus Vargunteius, who read extracts from Ennius's *Annales* on set days.²⁵ Another member of that early circle of grammarians was Lenaeus Pompeius, perhaps one of the first proprietors of a private school in Rome, who had access to what was left of the library of Mithradates VI and was able to draw on it for material for several books on pharmacology.²⁶

The first person to win recognition as the most eminent grammarian of the

early period was Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconinus,²⁷ who lived from about 154 to 90 B.C. Stilo, who earned that epithet (from *stylus*, a writing instrument) by writing speeches for all the great men of the day, was such a staunch supporter of the aristocratic party that he voluntarily accompanied Quintus Metellus Numidicus into exile on Rhodes, where he may have met Dionysius the Thracian. He was influenced by Stoicism and adapted Greek grammatical methods to Latin. He taught grammar to his friends, including Varro and Cicero, and edited books by earlier writers when he was not teaching. He



4. Teachers (*grammatici*) among their pupils. Woodcut from T. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*. Venezia, Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1506.

probably had a considerable collection of books of his own or else had access to well-stocked libraries, presumably archival: that would explain how he was able to identify the authentic plays by Plautus, out of the 130 attributed to him, on the basis of internal evidence.

Another who turned his hand to grammar studies was Stilo's son-in-law, Servius Claudius (or Clodius),²⁸ who also compiled a catalogue of Plautus's works. Suetonius tells us that it was a book that actually led to Servius's downfall: he stole one of his father-in-law's books before it was published, bringing such disgrace upon himself that he had to leave Rome and died soon

*A grammaticus
ruined by his love
of books*

after. As we shall see,²⁹ Servius's books, which he took into exile with him, were acquired by L. Papirius Paetus, an admirer of Cicero's, who eventually gave them to the great orator. These two stories about Servius are significant for what they tell us about the grammarians' private libraries and also about the code of ethics safeguarding unpublished writings and hence intellectual

property, as we shall see.³⁰

M. Pompilius Andronicus, a grammarian of the first century B.C. from Syria, was not highly regarded as a teacher in Rome and therefore decided to move to Cumae.³¹ There he wrote a number of books, but he found it so difficult to make ends meet that he was forced to sell his admirable short poem entitled *Criticisms of the Annales of Ennius* to a casual buyer for sixteen thousand sesterces. Orbilius subsequently bought up Pompilius's books and not only saved them from oblivion but made sure they were published under their author's name. Lucius Orbilius Pupilus,³² a contemporary of Pompilius born at Beneventum, went to live in Rome when he was fifty and gave lessons there with greater renown than profit. Suetonius informs us that there was a statue of him on the left side of the capitol at Beneventum, representing him seated and wearing a Greek mantle, with two book-boxes by his side.

Lucius Ateius Praetextatus, who styled himself Philologus ('literary scholar'),³³ was born in Athens and came to prominence in the first century B.C. as a grammarian and rhetorician. He went to Rome as a prisoner of war in 86 B.C. and lived there as a freedman, winning high renown by his wide learning. He also provided Sallust and Asinius Pollio with material to help them with their writing. In a letter to Laelius Hermas he asks him to publicize his books: 'Remember to recommend



5. T. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*. Leeuwarden, F. Halmas. 1690.

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my *Hyle* to others; as you know, it consists of material of every kind, collected in eight hundred books.'

Cornelius Epicadius,³⁴ active at the same time as Ateius, was a freedman of L. Cornelius Sulla and a great favourite of Sulla's son Faustus. He completed the last book of Sulla's autobiography and may perhaps have been lucky enough to manage the latter's celebrated library as his librarian. Quintus Caecilius Epirota,³⁵ born at Tusculum in the first century B.C., is said to have been the first to hold extempore discussions in Latin and to have introduced the practice of reading Virgil and other new poets. A major figure in the literature of the Augustan age was Marcus Verrius Flaccus,³⁶ a grammarian and antiquarian. He gathered a large group of pupils round him and used to set them written examinations to exercise their minds, with a beautiful or rare old book as the prize for the winner, as mentioned earlier. He was chosen by Augustus to be his grandsons' tutor and moved his school to the palace. His fees amounted to a hundred thousand sesterces a year.

Lucius Crassicius of Tarentum, a freedman of the same period of the Empire, taught in a school as a *grammaticus*, but he became famous through the publication of his commentary on *Zmyrna*, an epyllion by Helvius Cinna. The first person known to have held an official curatorial position in a Roman public library was Gaius Julius Hyginus,³⁷ a Spanish freedman of Augustus, who was a pupil of Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus. He was appointed head of the Palatine Library by imperial decree, worked concurrently as a teacher and was also a prolific writer: his writings demonstrate the breadth and depth of his learning.

Another grammarian and poet of the same period, Gaius Melissus,³⁸ a freedman of Maecenas, undertook the task of arranging the library in the Porticus Octaviae, founded by Augustus for his sister.³⁹ Melissus began writing relatively late in life and completed a work entitled *Ineptiae* ('Trifles') in a hundred and fifty books.

The contribution of the *grammatici* to the promotion of learning, the education of the young and the spread of literature did not come to an end with the fall of the Republic, of course, for they remained active under the Empire and many of them were employed in the service of the imperial court. One such was Marcus Valerius Probus, born at Berytus (Beirut) and active in the first century B.C., who, after failing to make a career for himself in the army, devoted himself to study, at first in his home town. There he learnt about the literary tradition of the republican period. Suetonius informs us that

*Grammatici
as librarians*

*Grammatici
in the age
of the Caesars*

CHAPTER III

*From Varro
to Cicero*

he read books by early writers that were still available in provincial libraries although they were no longer to be found in Rome. He amassed a large collection of books by writers of the pre-imperial period, such as Terence, Lucretius, Horace and Virgil, and edited the texts in the same way as the Alexandrian scholars had done before him, that is with the addition of critical notes. He had followers rather than pupils, for he was never a schoolmaster as such: he would give 'tutorials' at home to three or four students at a time,



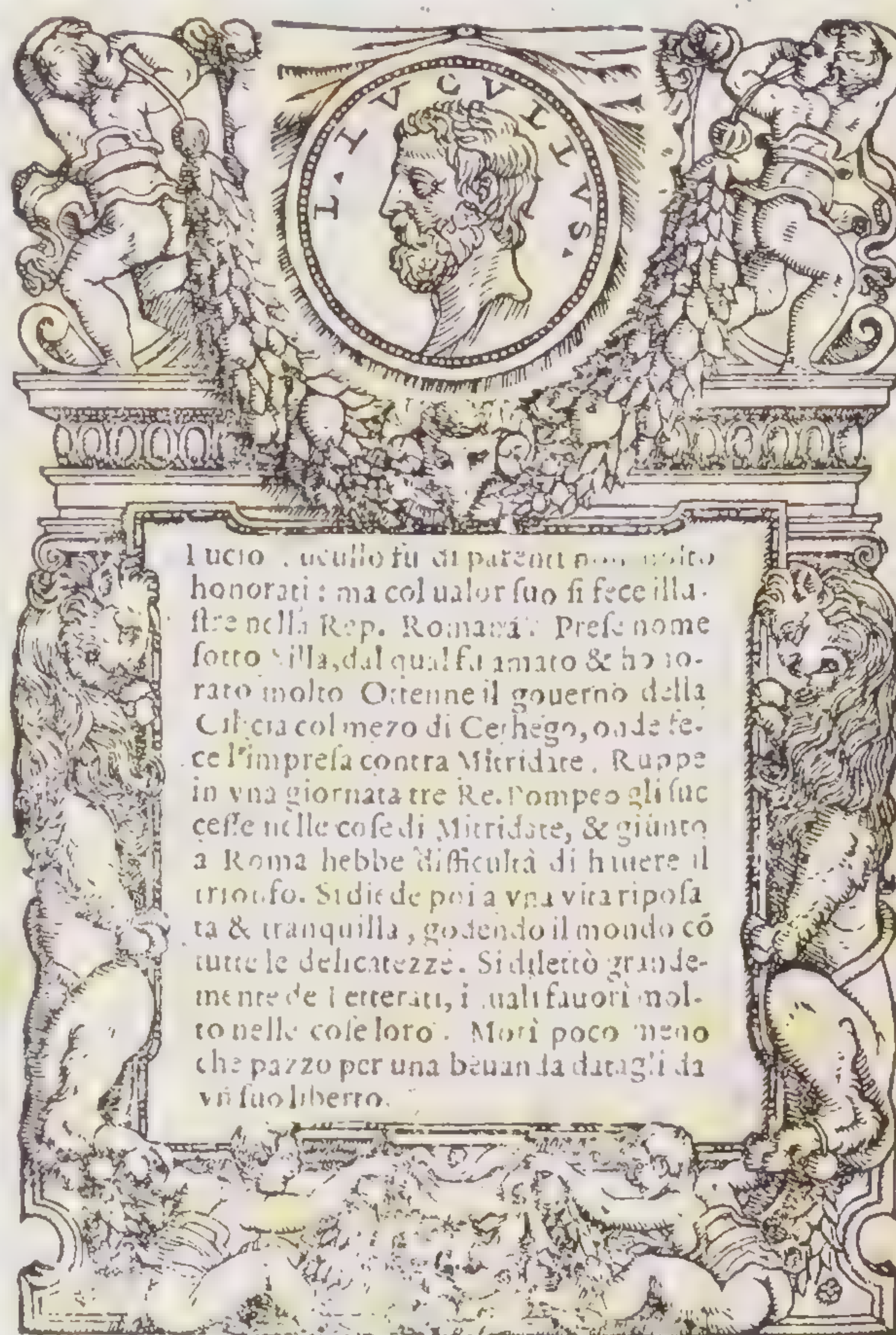
6. Library reading room. Engraving from J. von Falke, *Hellas und Rom. Eine Culturgeschichte des classischen Alterthums*, Stuttgart, W. Spemann, [1880].

reclining on a couch in the manner of the Sophists and carrying on long conversations with them, occasionally reading some passages of literature.⁴⁰

A 'public' library: the case of Lucullus. Among the best libraries in Rome in the first century B.C. – and open to the book-loving public – were those of Lucullus. Lucius Licinius Lucullus,⁴¹ whose grandfather and namesake had been consul in 151 B.C., served under Sulla and was the only holder of high office to support him in his march on Rome. He was Sulla's confidant and the mentor of his son Faustus. Later he was appointed pro-praetor in Africa. He

played a leading part in the war against Mithradates VI of Pontus (74 B.C.), and on his return to Rome in 63 he devoted himself to intellectual pursuits and the indulgence of his luxurious tastes. He died in 57 B.C.

Lucullus, who had been strongly influenced by the Greek philosophy schools and indeed by all things Greek, held that the spiritual and material sides of civilization were inseparably linked. Because of the way he flaunted the eccentric tastes he had picked up in Asia, Athenaeus (vi.109, 274) linked his name with the beginning of the Roman love of luxury that he saw in his own time. Plutarch went so far as to compare Lucullus's way of life with 'an ancient Attic comedy': he was referring to the way Lucullus had started his career in politics and the army and ended with what amounted to a *comus* (drinking-parties and amusements of all kinds).⁴² Plutarch goes on to say that Lucullus used the enormous riches he had appropriated on his campaigns for the purchase of collections of paintings, sculptures and other works of art with which he adorned and beautified his villas.⁴³ For his own everyday enjoyment he ordered the sort of sumptuous meals for which his name has become a byword, and in doing so he incurred the resentment of the plebs and a reproof from Cato the Younger, his brother-in-law.⁴⁴



7. L. Licinius Lucullus. Engraving from Plutarch, Lives.

Nevertheless, Cicero (*Academica*, II) speaks flatteringly of his intellectual interests and the strength of his devotion to literature and philosophy. Lucullus was determined to impose on his household a Greek way of life adapted to his own standards of luxury, and it would appear that he deliberately imposed that on the Greeks of his acquaintance. His villa at Tusculum, at least, he turned into a 'habitation of the Muses' where he gave the freedom of the house to all Greeks living in Rome or there for a short stay, so that they felt it to be a home from home, a 'Greek prytaneum' for those who visited Rome.⁴⁵ One person who was definitely included among Lucullus's intimates was

Archias, who probably lived at Tusculum and was in charge of the library there.⁴⁶

Lucullus owned a splendid villa in Rome, the Horti Lucullani,⁴⁷ which was later acquired by Messalina, as well as country villas at Tusculum,⁴⁸ Misenum, Neapolis and Nesis. Almost certainly he kept the bulk of his books in the villa at Tusculum, which Plutarch compares to an open museum. Just how he acquired his collection is not recorded; but, besides the 'well written' books he bought for himself, the spoils he brought back from the East would no doubt have included major libraries belonging to local rulers, the surviving remains of the great collections amassed by Hellenistic kings and even part of Mithradates VI's library.⁴⁹

To Lucullus's book collections and libraries we have only two specific references: one in Cicero and the other in Plutarch. The first reference occurs in Cicero's philosophical treatise *De finibus bonorum et malorum*,⁵⁰ where the author pays an imaginary visit to Lucullus's villa at Tusculum (near his own), which his son and namesake had inherited. There, in the library, he unexpectedly finds Marcus Porcius Cato of Utica, the great-grandson of Cato the Censor. When Cato inquires the reason for his visit, Cicero explains that he has come to borrow some books, adding that he hopes the younger Lucullus is by now familiar with their contents. He goes on to say that he wished to take home some books by Aristotle that he knew were there: 'I wanted to read them while I have some spare time, which does not happen often.' In the second relevant passage Plutarch draws attention to Lucullus's literary attainments, emphasizing that the books he had were not merely very numerous but also 'well written', and that 'the use they were put to was even more magnificent than the purchase'.⁵¹

The intellectual interests and library of Mithradates VI. Mithradates' libraries and collections of writings, as known from direct references, indirect allusions and working hypotheses, were much studied and discussed by writers of the Roman period. It is worth summarizing the information handed down to us by those writers.

Mithradates VI Eupator, King of Pontus,⁵² who lived from about 132 to 63 B.C., was the central figure in the Mithradatic Wars, which lasted from 89 B.C. until his death. The wars that he waged with his allies against Roman supremacy were not confined to Anatolia: many Greek cities were involved, including Athens, which Sulla sacked in the spring of 86 B.C. From that

campaign Sulla carried off rich spoils to Rome, among them Apellicon's library containing Aristotle's own manuscripts of his 'esoteric' writings (i.e. his teaching books) and some of the writings of Theophrastus.⁵³

The environment that Mithradates created around him was thoroughly Hellenized, although he himself came of a Persian family. He appointed Greek officers to command his army and navy and he did a great deal to spread Greek culture in his kingdom. He spoke Greek and twenty-two other languages as well, and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxv.3.6) records that he forbade his subjects to address him through an interpreter. From the few facts that are known about him it is reasonable to conjecture also that he was personally acquainted with Greek writers specializing in botany, pharmacology and empirical medicine. If we are to believe Pliny, who cites him as a source on geographical questions (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii.11.37-40), he also wrote books.



8. Mithradates. Engraving from Spoor, *Medici et Philosophi*.

It is also known that he was extremely interested in medicinal preparations that acted as antidotes to poisons, and that he had at his court the botanist and pharmacologist Crateuas,⁵⁴ nicknamed Rhizotomos ('Cutter of Roots'), who wrote books on botany and the medicinal properties of herbs. Crateuas's first book was lavishly illustrated with drawings of plants and was used by Pedanius Dioscurides as a sourcebook for his *Materia Medica*. Pliny had views of his own on the illustrations in Crateuas's books: he remarks that the crude drawings done by inartistic copyists served only to muddy the clarity of the text and so presented a confused picture of nature.

Mithridates kept up a correspondence with the Bithynian Asclepiades of Prusa or Cius⁵⁵ and was the dedicatee of his treatises. Asclepiades left Pontus and eventually settled in Rome, where he became a very successful physician specializing in surgery and dietetics.

Another polymath who may have moved in the royal circles of Pontus was Tyrannio the Elder,⁵⁶ of Amisus, who was taken prisoner by Lucullus's army in the Second Mithradatic War and went to Rome, probably with Lucius Licinius Murena.⁵⁷ Tyrannio, who won great renown in Rome as a teacher of grammar,

Mithradates' interest in pharmacology

Mithradates' dealings with Greek doctors

CHAPTER III

*From Varro
to Cicero*

*Lucullus and
Mithradates'
library*

*Pompey and
Mithradates'
books*

has also gone down in history as the owner of a magnificent library of thirty thousand books, many of which probably came from his homeland of Pontus.

In this connection it should be noted here that in the kingdom of Pontus, whose capital was Sinope, there were cities that retained a strong Hellenistic cultural tradition, including Amastris, Amisus and Laodicea among many others; and that Mithradates' military campaigns in Cappadocia, Bithynia, Phrygia and other parts of Asia Minor – campaigns which often stirred up rebellious movements among the local populations, who saw him as a leader who might liberate them from Roman rule – gave him an excellent opportunity to meet numerous men of letters.⁵⁸

Plutarch, in his *Life of Lucullus*,⁵⁹ was the first to write about the fabulous riches that the Roman general brought back with him from his campaigns against Mithradates and Tigranes in Pontus and Bithynia. After capturing large cities such as Sinope, Amisus, Nisibis, Tigranocerta and Cabira, he carried off spoils of all kinds including works of art – mainly Greek and Persian – of priceless worth. At Cabira, the principal residence of Mithradates and his court, Lucullus was able to form his own opinion of a portion of the Pontic king's private library (Plutarch, *Lucullus* XVIII). Part of that library, together with other books from various cities in the Pontus region, were taken to Rome – *pontica praeda* (until 67 B.C., when the Third Mithradatic War ended), as recorded by Isidore of Seville⁶⁰ – and may have formed the nucleus of Lucullus's far-famed library at Tusculum.

Plutarch also states that when Pompey was put in command of the Roman army in 66 B.C., at the start of the Fourth Mithradatic War,⁶¹ he captured a fortress near Cabira and discovered Mithradates' private library. He read the books with pleasure, taking especial interest in the notes on the poisons with which Mithradates killed his son Ariarathes. The library also contained handbooks for the interpretation of dreams and lascivious letters from Monime, one of Mithradates' wives, who came from Miletus. Pompey⁶² took some or perhaps all of the books from Mithradates' private library to Rome and then instructed Lenaeus Pompeius to translate them. According to Pliny the Elder, Lenaeus Pompeius was the first person to write about the methods of preparing medicines from herbs.⁶³ That Roman writers were interested in obtaining material from foreign as well as Latin sources is attested by Sallust in a passage about the ancient tribes of Africa: to convince his readers of the trustworthiness of his work, he explains that his account is based on translations of certain 'Punic books' said to have been written by King Hiempsal.⁶⁴

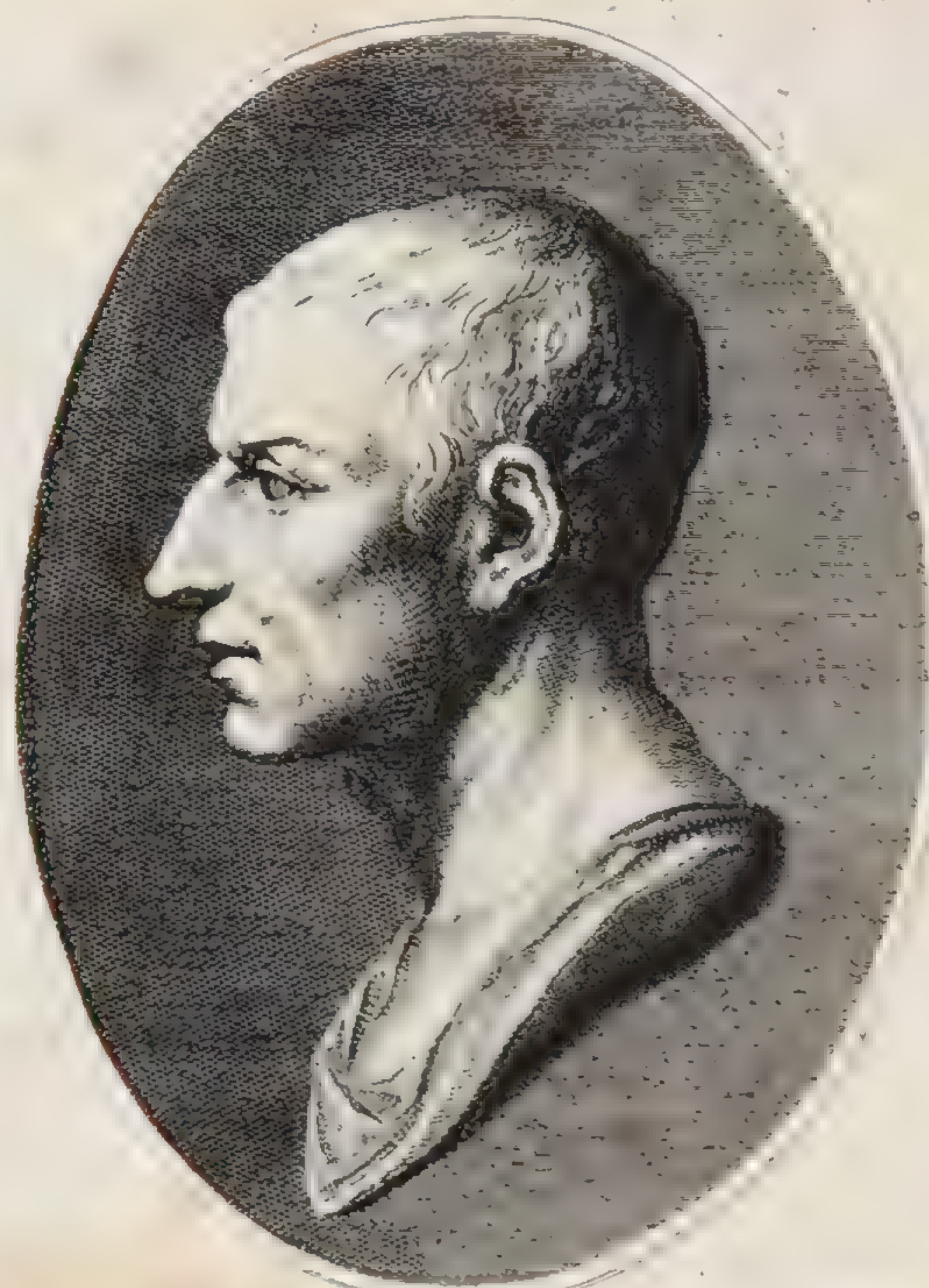
References to the earliest private libraries: from Cicero to Atticus. In trying to deduce the existence of aristocrats' private libraries in Rome from the mid third century to the first century B.C. – other than those of Scipio, Lucullus and Varro – I have relied mainly on the evidence derived from the writings of the pioneers of Roman literature and of the *grammatici*. In many cases I have presented as fact a conclusion that merely appears to be self-evident but is not actually proven. Cicero's correspondence, especially his *Letters to Atticus*, are informative not only about his own private libraries and the way they were arranged but also about many other related subjects connected with the world of books and their distribution.

Cicero, a person capable of lessening Rome's cultural dependence on Athens and Alexandria while still remaining a philhellene through and through, was born in 106 B.C. at the small town of Arpinum. Like Cato, he was a *novus homo* and owed his success entirely to his brilliant intellect and his own efforts.⁶⁵ He studied at the greatest centres of learning of his day, namely Rome, Athens and Rhodes, and his teachers included some of the most eminent Greek intellectuals. Greek rhetoric he learnt by listening to great Roman orators in the Forum: he was among those who heard the jurist and augur Q. Mucius Scaevola, whose references to the 'Scipionic circle' he was to remember for ever after. He enjoyed philosophy and became a follower of the Sceptic philosopher Philo of Larissa, who settled in Rome in 88 B.C. and taught him to consider matters from opposing viewpoints. On Philo's death in 85 B.C., Cicero became a disciple of the Stoic philosopher Diodotus and gave him a permanent home for his old age in one of his own houses.

In 79 Cicero took a break from his forensic career and went on an educational tour of Greece and Asia Minor, returning to Rome in 77. In Athens he spent about six months as a guest of Ariston,⁶⁶ attending the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon, as Varro had done before him. From there he went to Rhodes to study with the rhetorician Apollonius Molon, who schooled him in a highly polished manner of public speaking that left its stamp on his oratory from then on. From 76 he was active in Roman politics. Under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus (70 B.C.), Cicero – who was praetor in 66 – presented himself as a political supporter of Pompey in his famous *speculum principis* entitled *De imperio Cn. Pompei*. His election in 63 to the consulship, in which office he acted with great dynamism, was the climax of his political career. For the next few years he was forced on to the defensive over his execution of Catiline's supporters, and eventually he was sent into exile (58-57).

*Cicero's studies
in Rome, Athens
and Rhodes*

On his return to Rome he wrote two major works, *De oratore* (55 B.C.) and *De re publica* (54-51), and his brilliant speeches *In Pisonem* and *Pro Milone*. The three years that followed the outbreak of the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar (50 B.C.) were a barren time for Cicero, full of troubles and personal danger, until he was pardoned by Caesar in 47. His rhetorical works



M.T. CICERO.

Brutus and *Orator*, which attest to his dialogic relationship with Atticism, also mark the beginning of a new burst of creativity inspired mainly by the untimely death of his daughter Tullia in 45 B.C.

The aftermath of Caesar's assassination sounded the knell for Cicero: as a convinced democrat, he committed himself to the campaign against Antony, and before long Antony and Octavian put his name on the list of proscripts, with the result that he was horribly murdered in 43 B.C.

Cicero's many-faceted writings are a mine of information offering us unique glimpses of persons and things connected with the Romans' cultural history from the earliest times; but it is only in the *Letters to Atticus*⁶⁷ that we find anything to

9. Cicero. Print signed by W. Bromley, published by Cadell and Davies, London, 1799.

illuminate us about his book-buying and the organization of his libraries. Useful information about the world of books in Rome is to be found in his *Hortensius* and *Lucullus* (which contain references to the libraries of Sulla and Lucullus respectively), and also in his philosophical essay *De finibus* and the letters *Ad familiares*.

10. P. Manutius, In Epistolas Ciceronis ad Atticum... Commentarius, Venetiis, apud Aldi filios, 1547.
11. M.T. Cicero, Epistolarum ad Atticum, ad Brutum, ad Quintum Fratrem Libri XX, Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Soceri, 1521.
12. M.T. Cicero, De philosophia, Venetiis, apud Aldi filios, 1552.
13. M.T. Cicero, De Oratore, De optimo genere Oratorum, De claris Oratoribus, Venetiis, Aldus, 1569.

IN EPISTOLAS
CICERONIS AD ATTICVM,
PAVLI MANVTII
COMMENTARIVS,



Cum privilegio Pauli III. Pontificis Maximi in
annos decem, Gallia Regis item in de-
cem, Veneti senatus in viginti.

VENETIIS, M. D. XLVII.

M. T. CICERONIS EPISTOLARVM
AD ATTICVM, AD BRVTVM,
AD QVINTVM FRATREM,
LIBRI XX. NVPER *B. M. A. Manutij*
EXACTA RECO-
GNITI CVRA: *B. M. A. Manutij*
M. D. XXI. *ab alijs*

*Latina interpretatio eorum, quae in ijs ipsis epistolis
graece scripta sunt. ubi multa et mutata, et addi-
ta sunt. Admonemus igitur lectorem, ut inde sibi li-
brum corrigat suum.*



Ne quis alijs aut Venetijs, aut locorum usquam hosce
impune libros imprimat, uel aliubi impressor
uedat, firmis Alexandri VI. Iulij II. ac
Leonis X. Pontificum, necno et Se-
natus Veneti decretis cautum est.

M. TVLLII CICERONIS DE PHI-
LOSOPHIA VOLVMENTVM SE-
CVNDVM, IDEST,

De natura deorum	libri III.
De diuinatione	libri II.
De fato	liber I.
De legibus	libri III.
De universitate	liber I.
Q. Ciceronis de petitione Consulatus ad Marcum fratrem	liber I.

Cum scholijs, et coniecturis Pauli Manutij de
locis aliquot obscurioribus.



CORRIGENTE PAVLO MANVTIO
ALDI FILIO.
VENETIIS, M. D. LII.

CICERONIS

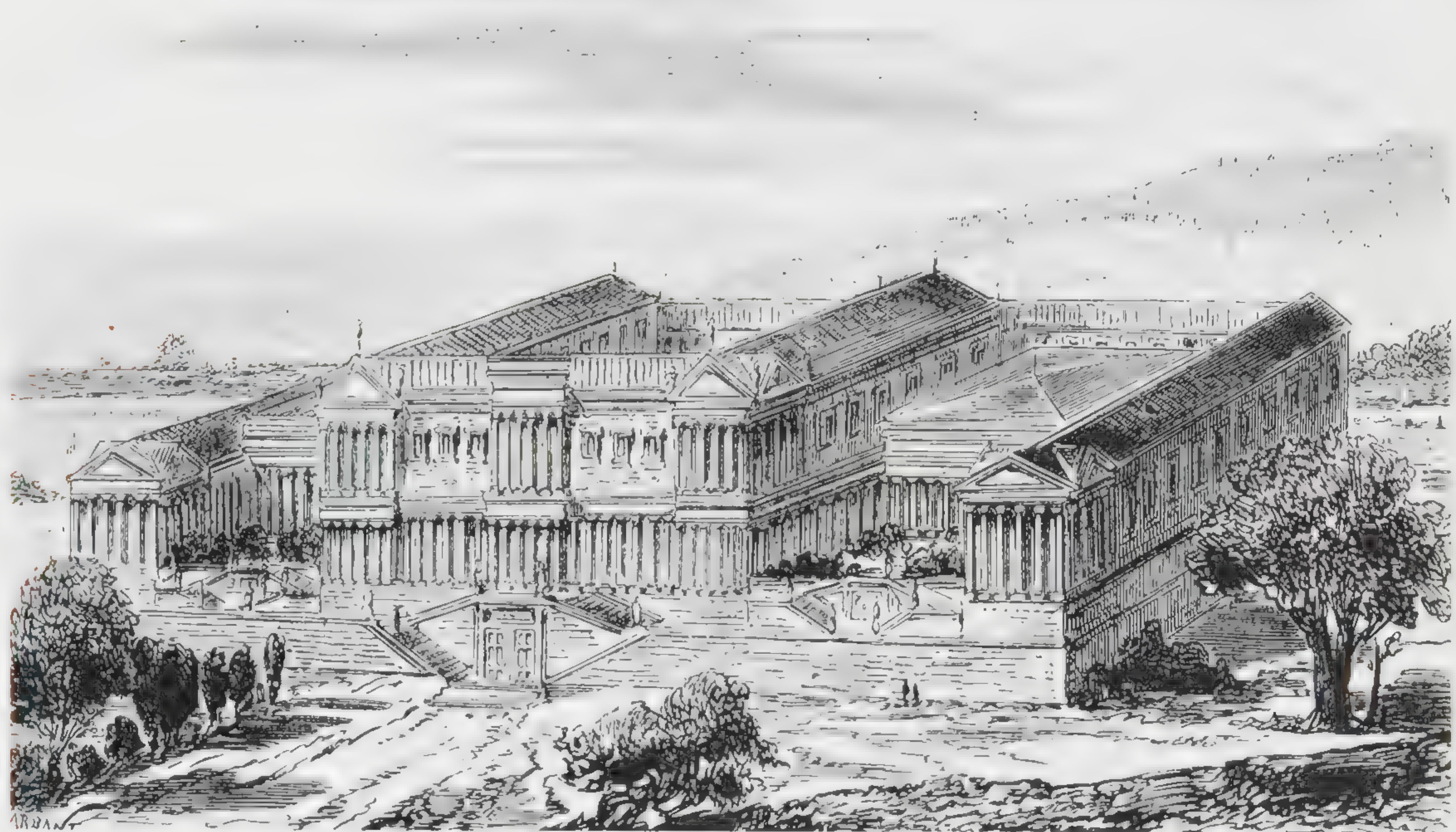
De Oratore libri. III
De Optimo genere Oratorum.
De claris Oratoribus.

SCHOLIA. PAVLI. MANVTII



VENETIIS, M. D. LXIX.

Libraries in Cicero's villas. Like all members of the aristocracy, Cicero organized his villas in such a way as to be able to switch from one to another, spending short periods in each. In these peaceful places he had the time and freedom from interruption that he needed for thinking about his political plans, keeping up with his voluminous correspondence and getting on with his writing. All his villas were south of Rome: four on the west coast and at least three at idyllic places inland (at Arpinum, Tusculum, Antium, Cumae, Formiae, Pompeii and Puteoli).⁶⁸ The last of his villas was at Astura, where he was assassinated.⁶⁹ These country houses were in addition to his town house on the Pala-



14. Reconstruction drawing of Cicero's villa at Tusculum, from V. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains...*, vol. III, p. 463.

tine Hill in Rome, on which, as already mentioned, he spent 750,000 denarii.⁷⁰ Most of his letters to Atticus were written in one or other of these villas: together they constitute a unique source of information about the extremely close friendship between them and the part played by Atticus, not only as his confidant and counsellor on matters relating to his political ambitions but also as his mentor and valued adviser in the field of literature and the arts. These hundreds of letters reveal not only Atticus's profound knowledge of the Roman and Greek literary tradition but also his highly artistic character.

15. Cicero in his library. Engraving, 18th c.



How Cicero's libraries were organized. Cicero, that voracious reader, evidently had libraries – that is collections of books – in all his country villas as well as the one at his home on the Palatine.⁷¹ In fact, considering that his heavy involvement in politics meant that he had to travel a good deal, it is not unlikely that he arranged his visits to the villas to suit the needs of the book he was writing at the time, depending on what reference material he had in each library. When trying to estimate the total number of Cicero's books, we should not forget that in 58 B.C. he was sent into exile and Claudius Pulcher looted and burnt both his house on the Palatine and his villa at Tusculum. Nowhere is it explicitly stated that any of his books were lost or destroyed, but that does not mean that they were not.⁷²

At all events, what emerges from his correspondence with Atticus is that the latter was his main supplier of books and was instrumental in ensuring his lasting fame by distributing his books both in the East and in the West. At some time before 67 B.C. Cicero wrote to Atticus from Rome, asking him to send everything he had bought for him as soon as possible: presumably he was referring to an order of books that Atticus was to buy as and when he could, and to send off in instalments (*Ad Att.* 1.7). Early in 66, again writing from Rome, he reminded Atticus of his promise to hold on to his books so that Cicero could have them eventually (1.4), for Cicero was sure that they would bring him lasting happiness in his old age (1.10-11). In May, 60 B.C., still thirsting for books, he wrote to tell Atticus that he had acquired the library of Servius Claudius,⁷³ given to him by his friend and admirer Lucius Papirius Paetus.⁷⁴ Claudius's books were in Athens, and it appears that with the Latin works there were also some in Greek, which Cicero urgently needed to consult. He therefore asked Atticus – who was presumably living in Athens at the time – to do everything in his power to ensure that the collection remained intact: *ut scida ne qua depereat* (1.20).

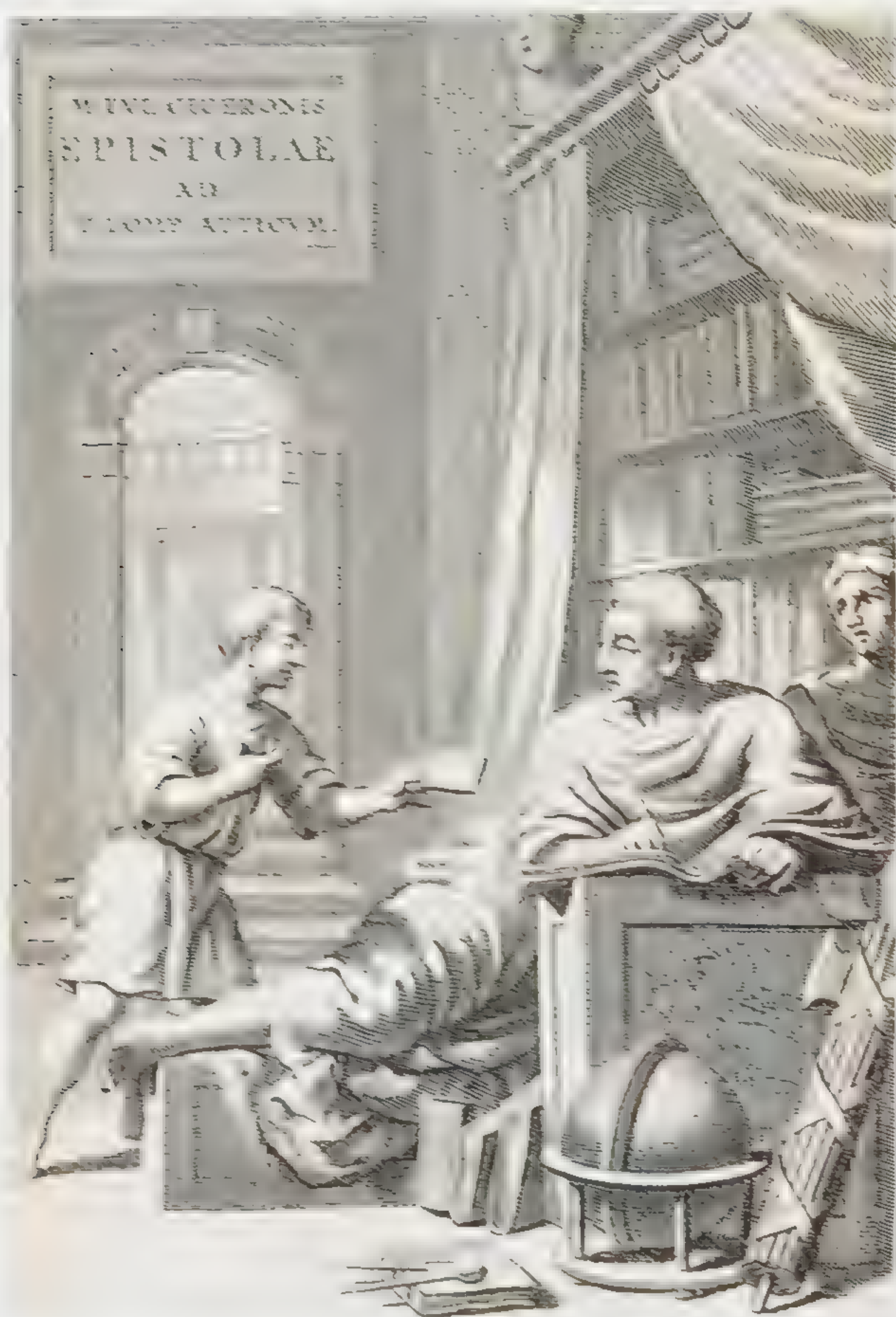
In the same year (60 B.C.) Cicero mentions the books collected by his brother Quintus, to which Atticus had access, and asks Atticus to send him the copy of *De ambitione* by Theophrastus from Quintus's library. Quintus had told his brother that he intended to enlarge his library, had asked for his help in expanding the Greek section by exchanging some of his books and had expressed a desire to buy more Latin books. Cicero was willing to help him, relying on some assistance from Tyrannio,⁷⁵ but at the same time he warned him that he would find it difficult to buy the books he wanted (*Ad. Q. fr.* III.4.5, III.5/6.6).

In 55 B.C., the year when he completed his brilliant dialogue *De oratore*, he wrote to Atticus from Cumae to tell him that he was looking through the library of Faustus Sulla – the famous collection of books amassed by Cornelius Sulla, which included some of Aristotle's original manuscripts⁷⁶ – and confided that the further he found himself drifting away from the centre of political action, the greater the uplift he received from reading books; and he adds that he would have no hesitation in exchanging his seat in the Senate for a chair in Atticus's library under the gaze of the bust of Aristotle (IV.10).

Cicero employed well-qualified assistants to classify and arrange the books in his libraries and to copy out his writings, his correspondence and the books he lent or sent to Atticus for literary or other comments. The most important person in his literary entourage was a certain Tyrannio:⁷⁷ probably he was none other than the greatest collector of his day, who was said by Strabo to have possessed 30,000 rolls. If it was indeed the same person (one of whose projects was to edit and publish Aristotle's teaching books), then we are talking about someone who had access to aristocrats' libraries, including those of Sulla and Lucullus, and who may have supplied Cicero himself with books. Whatever the truth of the matter, in 66 B.C. this Tyrannio undertook to classify and arrange the books in the library of Cicero's villa at Antium, at Atticus's request. Cicero was so pleased with the result that he declared in one of his letters that he was sure Atticus himself would be amazed at the quality of Tyrannio's work, adding that his house 'seems to have had a soul added to it' (*mens addita videtum meis aedibus*) (IV.8). A year earlier, in 55 B.C., he had written (again from Antium) to ask Atticus to send him two of his library slaves (*librarioli*) to help with the work of gluing pages and making out labels or title-slips, which he thought the Greeks called *sillyboi* (IV.4a). Atticus responded positively to Cicero's request and his two librarians, Menophilus and Dionysius, did all that was required of them: 'Nothing could be more delightful than those bookcases (*pegmata*) of yours, now that the books are complete with their title-slips' (IV.8).

Another slave with a prominent position in Cicero's libraries was Dionysius, who was employed by Cicero as a librarian. However, he abused his master's trust by stealing a number of valuable books and absconding with them. Some time later he reappeared in Dalmatia, where he asserted that Cicero had given him his freedom.⁷⁸ One of those who may have held the post of Cicero's 'reader' was a certain Sositheus, over whose death Cicero expresses his grief (I.12).

Exchanges of books. Atticus supplied Cicero with books not only as collectors' items but often as reference works which he needed for his multifarious writings. In 59 B.C. Cicero wrote to Atticus from Rome acknowledging receipt of 'the books from Vibius' (which Vibius⁷⁹ had delivered to him from Atticus), namely some works by Alexander of Ephesus, nicknamed *Lychnos* ('the Lamp'): Alexander was a writer of didactic poems of whom Cicero had a low opinion, for he describes him as a careless writer and a poor poet (II.20, II.22).



16. Cicero in one of his libraries. Engraving from M. T. Cicero, *Epistolae...*, Amsterdam, Blaeu & Henricus Wetstenius, 1684.

In 49 B.C., immediately after the end of his term as proconsul of Cilicia, he asked Atticus to send him a copy of *On Concord*, a book by Demetrius of Magnesia dedicated to Atticus; he subsequently returned it to him by the hand of his scribe Philotimus (VIII.11, VIII.12, IX.9). In 45, in a letter written at Tusculum, he informed Atticus that he was intending to write a political speech after the manner of the latter's 'old friend' Dicaearchus (XIII.30), and he asked Atticus to send him three books by Dicaearchus: *On the Soul*, *On the Descent* and *Tripoliticus* (XIII.32).

In the letters written to Atticus at this time (e.g. XII.40, XIII.7) we find several references to an 'Admonitory Letter' that Cicero was planning to write to Caesar, for which he was trying to find suitable ideas in the two similar

letters written by Aristotle and Theopompus to Alexander the Great. Cicero also writes at some length about Tyrannio and praises him for his erudition. In one of those letters (XII.6) he complains about something that Atticus has failed to do, asks him to rectify the matter and begs him to send Tyrannio's book, presumably meaning the treatise on Homeric punctuation. 'The book itself will not give me more pleasure than your admiration of it has already done,' he adds. He then extols Atticus as a great lover of learning, acknowledging Atticus's deeply-held conviction that knowledge is the only nourishment for the intellect. In another letter (XIII.8) written from Tusculum the

same year, he says he would be grateful if Atticus would send him Brutus's epitome of the *Bellum Punicum* by Lucius Caelius Antipater.⁸⁰

Atticus: Cicero's publisher? It has often been asserted that Atticus was the publisher of Cicero's writings, on the reasoning that some of the help and advice that he gave Cicero in token of their friendship – not only in the matter of literary criticism but also with regard to publishing in the modern sense of the word – are to be taken as a general rule. Moreover, Cicero regarded Atticus as his mentor, to judge by the way he opened his heart and mind to him on matters political, intellectual and purely philosophical. But the fact is that today we have no evidence, other than what we can glean from the letters to Atticus, concerning the circulation of books by Cicero and his contemporaries. All one can do is to pick out and emphasize the passages that show Atticus offering Cicero his critical opinion on literary matters and controlling the marketing and distribution of his books outside Rome, over an area stretching from western Greece to the Near East.

In 59 B.C., when Cicero was writing his speech in defence of Valerius Flaccus, he confided to Atticus that he had started work on a geographical treatise modelled on the work of Eratosthenes, even though the latter's credentials as a geographer were belittled by Serapio and Hipparchus of Laodicea (II.6). Just a few months earlier he had told Atticus of his boundless admiration for Dicaearchus, the pupil of Aristotle and Theophrastus: 'I have in my hands the treatise on the constitution of Pellene, and at my feet a huge pile of books by Dicaearchus. What a great man!' He goes on to say that he thinks he must have some books on the Corinthian and Athenian constitutions at his house in Rome. This confirms a point made earlier in this chapter: that Cicero was not quite sure what books he had in his various libraries in Rome and the country villas; and we may assume that the thematic consistency of his various collections likewise left something to be desired.

It was probably in connection with his search for geographical reference books that Cicero mentioned the book by Serapio of Antioch that Atticus had sent to him at Antium in 59 B.C. For this particular book he gave orders that Atticus was to be paid at once, so that he would not put it down to the cost of presentation copies (*ne tu expensum muneribus ferres*). Nearly ten years later, in 50 B.C., he was still working on Dicaearchus: apropos of the latter's *Maps*, he wrote to Atticus from Laodicea that all the states in the Peloponnese apparently had a seaboard. He then compares the names of ports given by

Dicaearchus with those listed in Homer's 'Catalogue of Ships' and asks Atticus to make some necessary corrections in his copy (vi.2).

In 55 B.C. he wrote from Tusculum that he was hard at work on his treatise on rhetoric (*De oratore*), to which he had made extensive revisions: 'You can get them copied' (*describas licet*), he tells Atticus (iv.13). Towards the end of February in 49 B.C., when Cicero was at his villa at Formiae, he wrote to tell Atticus that he did not care whether his letters were widely published or not,⁸¹ as he himself had allowed several people to make copies of them; and he continues: 'Such is the nature of events that have already happened ... that I wished my sentiments as to keeping the peace (*de pace quid senserim*) to be put on record. Now, while exhorting Caesar of all people to keep it, I could see no better way of influencing him than by saying that it was suitable to his wisdom' (viii.9).

Cicero also corresponded with Aulus Hirtius, one of Caesar's lieutenants, who – under Caesar's direction – had made a list of all Cato's faults and written a broadside against him. Cicero told Atticus that he had sent Hirtius's book to Musca (probably one of Atticus's slaves) with orders that it was to be given to Atticus's copyists: 'As I wish it to be made public, please give orders to your men to facilitate that' (xii.40, xii.48).

In 45 B.C., the year when Cicero wrote these words to Atticus, he was struck down by a grievous blow: the death of his daughter Tullia. In another letter he pours out his anguished feelings: 'Not a word has been written by anyone on the subject of abating grief which I did not read at your house,' he tells Atticus. 'But my sorrow is too deep for any consolation. In fact I have done what no one ever did before me: I have tried to console myself by writing a book, which I will send to you as soon as copies of it have been made' (xii.14). The book in question was the *Tusculan Disputations*, a philosophical treatise in five books setting out the conditions of happiness. In the first book, which bears the title 'When I Think of Death', Cicero notes two points that have struck him about philosophical books in Rome: first, that there were books on philosophy in Latin that were carelessly written by authors not properly qualified to write on such subjects; secondly, that the readers of those books were none other than the authors and their friends.⁸²

This was the period of Cicero's renewed burst of creativity, inspired partly

17. M. T. Cicero, *De re publica* (excerpts). The famous palimpsest discovered by Mai, probably written in Italy at the Abbey of San Colombano, Bobbio. Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 5757, fo. 277^r), 4th/5th c.

[illegible]

(as we have seen) by the untimely death of his daughter in 45 B.C. We find him writing to Atticus from Arpinum, starting with the question: 'Do you think it right to publish without an order from me? Hermodorus himself used not to do that – the man who made a practice of circulating Plato's books....'⁸³



18. Cicero writing and sending letters to his friends.
Woodcut from M.T. Cicero, *Epistolae familiares*.
Milano, Georgius de Rusconibus, 1511.

For Balbus [Cornelius Balbus] has written to tell me that you have allowed him to take a copy of the fifth book of the *De finibus*, in which, though I have not made very many alterations, yet I have made some. I shall be very much obliged to you if you will keep back the other books, so that Balbus may not have what is uncorrected, and Brutus what is stale.' He goes on to say that he is so keen to send what he has written to Varro, as Atticus advised, that he has already despatched it to Rome to be copied out. 'This you shall have at once, if you so wish. For I have written to tell the copyists that your men should have permission to make a copy of it if you chose' (XIII.21a). A few days later Cicero wrote again to Atticus from Tusculum: 'The books dedicated to Varro won't be long delayed. They are completed, as you have seen. There only remains the correction of the

mistakes of the copyists.' (The books in question are Cicero's *Academica posteriora*.) And he adds, 'The copyists also have in hand those [books] I am dedicating to Brutus [i.e. *De finibus*]' (XIII.23). Shortly afterwards, again writing from his villa at Tusculum, he confesses to a piece of absent-mindedness to which Brutus has drawn his attention: 'The mention of L. Corfidius in my speech for Ligarius was a mistake of mine. But it was only

what is called a lapse of memory. I knew that Corfidius was very closely connected with the Ligarii, but I see now that he was already dead. Please therefore instruct Pharnaces, Antaeus and Salvius⁸⁴ to erase that name from all the copies' (XIII.44). The speech *Pro Ligario* is mentioned again in another letter, where Cicero thanks Atticus for helping it to sell so well: 'Henceforth, whenever I write anything, I shall entrust the advertising to you' (XIII.12).

A year later, in July of 44 B.C., he wrote from Arpinum to say that he would soon be sending his book 'On Glory' (*De gloria*, now lost), adding: 'I will hammer out something in the vein of Heraclides⁸⁵ to be treasured up in your secret stores' (XV.27, XVI.6). In a letter written from Puteoli in November of the same year he refers to Varro's *Imagines*, which he finds pleasing, and tells Atticus that – as far as Panaetius goes – he has completed *De officiis* in two books. 'That topic was taken up by Posidonius. I, however, both sent for the latter's book [*Περὶ Καθήκοντος*] and also wrote to Athenodorus (Calvus)⁸⁶ to send me an analysis of it.... As to your question about the title, I have no doubt about *officium* representing *καθήκον* – unless you have something else to suggest' (XVI.11).

A typical instance of purely editorial intervention is Cicero's instruction to Atticus to replace the name of the Attic comic playwright Eupolis with 'Aristophanes' in the *Orator*, not only in Atticus's own copy but also in those intended for his customers (XII.6a). Evidently this was done, for in all the extant copies of the *Orator* we find the word *Aristophane* in section 29. But for a better idea of the collaborative editing process between Cicero and Atticus we have to look at a letter written in 45 B.C., when Cicero was at work on his *Academica*. Wishing to find a Latin metaphor to convey the meaning of the Greek word used by Carneades for 'suspension of judgment', he chose the verb *sustinere*, following Lucilius. Atticus demurred and suggested instead *inhibere*, a metaphor from rowing. Cicero takes him up on this point after watching a ship coming in to land near one of his villas: 'I thought that the vessel was "held up" (*sustineri*) when the rowers were ordered *inhibere*. But that that is not the case I learnt yesterday, when a ship was being brought to land opposite my villa. For when ordered *inhibere* the rowers don't hold up the vessel, they backwater.... Therefore the *inhibitio* of rowers connotes motion, and indeed an unusually violent one.... Wherefore pray let it stand in the book as it was' (XIII.21).

This constant communication between Cicero and Atticus on the subject of books, which they maintained wherever they were in Italy or Greece, is open

Editorial
intervention

to various interpretations, and it is easy to generalize on the basis of isolated facts. What is beyond question is that Cicero – who strove all his life to promote humanistic learning and whose interest in philosophy was so prodigious that he referred to Plato as ‘that god of mine’ – wished to make his name as a writer as well as a politician and therefore needed someone thoroughly committed to a theoretical outlook on life to polish his written work and, more important still, to make it more widely known.



19. Cicero in one of his libraries. Woodcut from M.T. Cicero, *Tusculanae quaestiones*, Venezia, Philippus Pincius, 1510.

Atticus had enough time on his hands to be able to find books for Cicero and even to acquire whole libraries for him, and apparently he had access to the collections and libraries of the philosophy schools in Athens and to gymnasium libraries, of which there were many throughout the Greek world in the first century B.C. He lent Cicero books that he wanted to consult, exchanged books with him, edited his written work, advised him on the content and the titles, lent him copyists and publicized his writings in Rome and the provinces. We have to remember that although there were no public libraries in Rome in Cicero's time,

nor any other library open to the public, Roman aristocrats and men of letters were familiar with the bookish atmosphere of Athens and, to a lesser extent, of Alexandria and Rhodes. In the preface to *De finibus* Cicero refers to his youthful wanderings in Athens with his brother, his cousin, Atticus and another friend: ‘Wherever we walk, we are treading the paths of history.’

The Romans did not set out to originate and establish anything new and innovative, but rather to follow Greek models – and that they did. There is no doubt that in the mid first century B.C. there existed a whole community of people whose work was involved with books: writers, researchers, grammarians, teachers, copyists, collectors, publishers and booksellers, not to mention

a large student body. But exactly how and under what conditions those writings reached the market or were acquired by potential purchasers, and exactly what relationship existed between writers and their 'publishers', are often matters of conjecture. Quite possibly, in the period we are dealing with, the way things were done was quite different from what we know today and the exception did not prove the rule, but rather the opposite. For example, although Atticus was away from Rome for long periods he kept a fine library in his town house there, continually bringing it up to date with purchases of



20. *Cicero in one of his libraries.* Woodcut from *M.T. Cicero, Epistolae familiares*, Milan, Gulielmo Fontaneto, 1525.

books by contemporary Roman writers: on one occasion Cicero wrote to ask him for the catalogue of the books by Varro that he had in his library in Rome (IV.14). And, as we have seen, he was annoyed with Atticus for publishing *De finibus* without Cicero's consent (XIII.21a).

From Cicero's letters, mainly those to Atticus, I have picked out some passages that illuminate the bibliological and literary dealings of a man with high aspirations as a writer: a man who, while pursuing his political ambitions – which took him to high office, to exile and to the battlefield – found time to compile a huge and varied corpus of written work. Leading a peripatetic life and writing in one or other of his villas in the intervals between his frequent moves, he never lost his passion for transfusing into his native lan-

guage every genre of Greek literature, from philosophy to geography, all of which he admired greatly. Books meant a great deal to Cicero, and when his political career ended in ruins he wrote to Varro: 'Allow me to tell you that ... I have effected a reconciliation with my old friends, I mean my books.... They pardon me: they recall me to our old intimacy.'⁸⁷

Atticus's libraries. Titus Pomponius Atticus⁸⁸ was an altogether outstanding figure in the world of Latin literature, not so much for his talent as a writer or his own literary output but rather because he was the ancient Roman equiv-



21. *Cicero writing at one of his villas.* Woodcut from *M. T. Cicero, De officiis*, Milano, Johannes Tacuinus, 1506.

alent of 'Renaissance man', as that term is understood today – an earlier incarnation of the Florentine Renaissance scholar Niccolò Niccoli, so to speak. He was able to live a very comfortable life thanks to the great fortune he had inherited from his father and other relatives, and he divided his time between Rome, Athens and the Amaltheum, his famous villa in Epirus. Surrounded by paintings, sculptures and other works of art, he spent most of his time collecting and studying works of Greek and Latin literature. He was on friendly terms with the greatest men of letters of his day and supported them in their work by helping to publicize them through his own 'publishing' network.

Atticus was born in 109 B.C. of an equestrian family and died in 32 B.C.,

after Octavian (Augustus) had come to power. In the troubled years of Sulla's ascendancy he preferred to stay as far away as possible from political strife and intrigue and therefore decided to move to Athens in 88, taking with him a large part of his personal fortune. He lived mainly in Athens from 88 to 65 B.C., and his cognomen Atticus was due partly to his long stay there and partly to his generosity to the Athenians.⁸⁹ He acquired a thorough mastery of Greek and an extensive knowledge of the history of Greek literature and became a disciple of the Epicurean school of philosophy.

Being a discriminating person, he gathered round him a circle of friends who enjoyed his famous dinner parties, where the only entertainment consisted of readings, stories and witty conversation.⁹⁰ Besides Marcus Cicero, his friends included Cicero's brother Quintus (who was married to Atticus's sister Pomponia), Varro, Hortensius and Cornelius Nepos, the last of whom wrote a biography of him which he included in the second edition of his *Lives* (*De viris illustribus*).

In addition to his intellectual interests, Atticus dealt in works of art. To Cicero, for example, he sent (among other things, perhaps) paintings and sculptures from Athenian and Corinthian workshops, and he may well have bought and sold authentic fragments of ancient architectural members and other antiques of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁹¹ Cicero was always enthusing about Atticus's villa, called Amalthea or Amaltheum, in the Chaonia district of northern Epirus, describing it as a paradise on earth.⁹² This villa Atticus had adorned with all kinds of works of art and old inscriptions collected from various ancient Greek cities, probably nearby.

Atticus was also a writer himself, in a small way, all his works being digests of factual information. One, entitled *Imagines*, was a collection of verse biographies of prominent Romans, possibly modelled on Varro's work with the same title. He also wrote a series of monographs based on the family trees of Roman aristocratic families, and a brief history of Rome, the *Liber annalis*, for the use of every educated Roman.

Atticus undoubtedly had an excellent library, and he appears to have been better informed than anyone else about the bibliographical picture presented by Greek libraries and Roman private collections. However, we have no specific information – not even at second hand – about the size or contents of his

22. *Part of Western Greece from the Tabula Peutingeriana. Reproduction from Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del Mondo*, ed. F. Prontera, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 2003. 



Y E S. S A M A T E.



Hoc flum qdam gen vocant alij Nilum appellant.
dicit eni sub terra egyptum i nyilon ire lacu.

library, and Nepos does not mention it at all. It seems clear from his activities and his correspondence with Cicero that he had at least three properly-organized collections of books, one in each of his three houses in Rome (the famous villa built by Tamphilus),⁹³ Athens and Epirus (the Amalthea villa). Each of these three houses he used also as book production workshops. Most probably he had some sort of bookshop, scriptorium or book storeroom at his house in Brundisium (Brindisi),⁹⁴ which he used as a depot for his business since the

port of Brundisium was the principal gateway to Greece and the Levant.

Here, however, Atticus is primarily of interest as a pivotal figure in the process of producing and disseminating literary works both by contemporary authors, especially Cicero, and by earlier writers; for our aim is to reconstruct the machinery that existed for distributing books under the Republic, when there is no proof of the existence of bookshops or professional booksellers.

Atticus as 'publisher'. Cornelius Nepos, in his biography of Atticus, states that in his house on the Quirinal Hill he employed a large number of slaves including highly-educated young men, excellent readers, and numerous copyists (*librarii*).⁹⁵

We learn from Atticus's correspondence with Cicero, as well as other evidence, that he had set up a publishing organization entirely in keeping with the age he lived in, when there were no public libraries of any kind in Rome and those involved in the book trade were mere amateurs. Having gathered a circle of writers round him, he had their works copied out, first editing them where necessary, and then offered them for sale not only to his personal friends but to a wider public including such men as Helonius, Hilarus and Thyillus: the last of these asked Cicero to



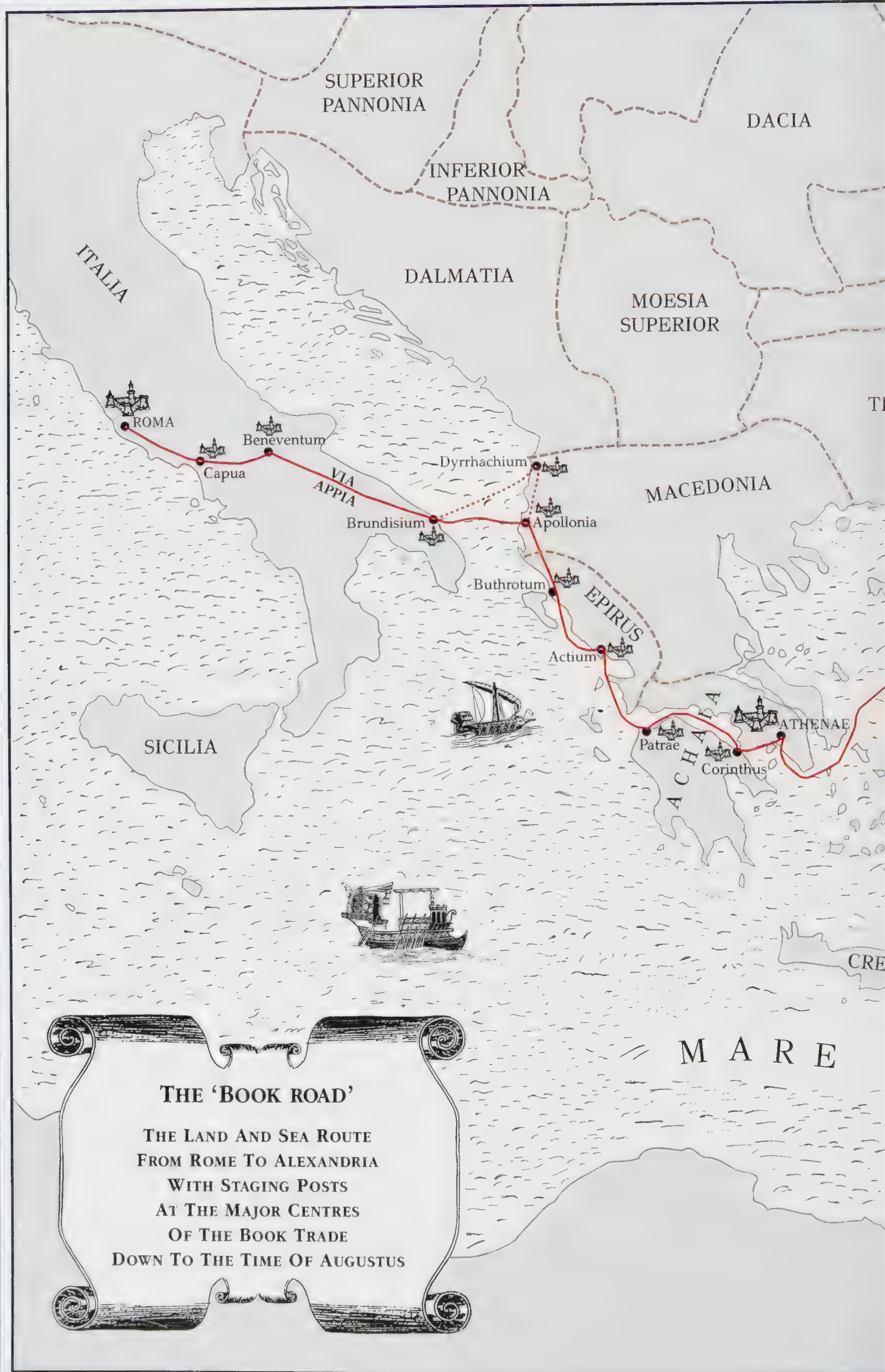
23. Cornelius Nepos, *De excellentibus viris*, Leipzig, J. L. Gleditschius, 1704.

get for him from Atticus some books on the *patria* (ancient lore) of the Eumolpidae.⁹⁶ Besides Cicero (*De finibus*),⁹⁷ authors who entrusted their writings to Atticus to ‘publish’ them included Varro (*Imagines*),⁹⁸ Nepos (*Cato*),⁹⁹ Caesar (*Anticatones*),¹⁰⁰ Hirtius (treatise ‘Against Cato’)¹⁰¹ and perhaps Hortensius.¹⁰²

The ‘Book Road’. But Atticus’s contribution to the world of books was not limited to his publishing activities, because among other things he was the bridge between Rome and the various Greek book centres, forging links with philosophers and grammarians, writers and copyists, readers and librarians, and thus bringing to Rome the bookish atmosphere that had been a feature of Athenian life since the time of Aristotle. His universal acceptance by the Roman *literati*, his friendship with Cicero, his many years in Athens and the gratitude the Athenians felt towards him, combined with his passion for books, his comfortable financial circumstances and his decision to spend long periods in Epirus, may be said to have built the ‘Book Road’ linking West and East. From Rome it ran southwards along the Via Appia, through the various provincial towns where aristocratic families had their country houses and on to Brundisium. That city, according to Gellius, had a traditional connection with books: there were bookshops there selling books by early writers – of which Gellius himself bought some¹⁰³ – and Atticus had another town house in that gateway from Italy to the East.¹⁰⁴ We know from Horace (*Epist.* 1.20), too, as we shall see, that books with little market value or in bad condition were sold off in the provinces. Atticus based himself at the famous Amalthea villa and his house at Buthrotum¹⁰⁵ while going about his multifarious activities around Epirus Vetus,¹⁰⁶ a region extending northwards from Corcyra as far as Hadrianopolis and southwards to the mouth of the Acheloös. All along the coast was a string of safe anchorages, while the interior was served by roads linking important towns like Epidamnus, Apollonia, Hadrianopolis, Phoenice, Buthrotum, Photice and others between there and the Ambracian Gulf, where Nicopolis was founded a few years later.¹⁰⁷ Thus there was easy access between mountainous Epirus and Achaea, as Peutinger’s map testifies.¹⁰⁸ The next staging-post was Patrae, where Gellius informs us that there was another library containing books that were hard to find even in Rome, such as the *Odyssia* of Livius Andronicus.¹⁰⁹ Atticus had commercial

*Centres of
the book trade
between Rome
and Alexandria*

24. Map of the Mediterranean showing the ‘Book Road’ in the time of Augustus. 



THE 'BOOK ROAD'

THE LAND AND SEA ROUTE
FROM ROME TO ALEXANDRIA
WITH STAGING POSTS
AT THE MAJOR CENTRES
OF THE BOOK TRADE
DOWN TO THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS



dealings with people in all the principal cities along the road from Patrae to Athens, including Sicyon, Corinth, Megara and Eleusis.¹¹⁰ However, we have no evidence of Atticus buying or selling books in these cities (except Corinth, where there was probably a library, at least from the late first century A.D.):¹¹¹ all we know is that he bought and sold works of art, the one exception being Cicero's statement about the books that Thyillus wanted Atticus to get for him on the subject of the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹¹²

Did bookshops exist in Cicero's time? On the evidence of the express and implied information about the world of books in Rome to be found in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus and his friends, and the references to the great book collectors of that period (Varro, Lucullus and Sulla), it is not possible to conclude that bookshops existed. On the contrary, all the available evidence suggests that book production and distribution were in the hands of a literary coterie whose members' roles were indeterminate, as the writer was often his own publisher. This does not rule out the possibility that grammarians and 'booksellers' bought and sold old books and papyrus rolls coming on to the market in auction sales or through the operation of the law of inheritance, or that they sometimes took orders to have books copied out by specially trained slaves. Be that as it may, there certainly were books available – though they were corrupt copies bristling with mistakes – as well as abridged versions of books and recitations of unpublished works.

Varro's hints, Cicero's testimony, Strabo's comments and the explicit statements by Diodorus Siculus leave us in no doubt about the fluid situation that existed with regard to bookshops and booksellers. Varro went so far as to suggest that it was impossible to find a copyist capable of making a reliable copy of his *De lingua latina*.¹¹³ And Cicero told his brother Quintus that he doubted whether it was possible to find reliable copies of Latin books, because all those available were full of errors.¹¹⁴ Diodorus Siculus mentions the forgeries and plagiarisms circulating at the time when he was in Rome (about 56 B.C.). While he was making the final revisions to his *Bibliotheca*, unreliable pirated epitomes of his works were in circulation (*κλαπεῖσαι προεξεδόθησαν*), and consequently he was forced to publish a table of contents and to define the exact extent of his history.¹¹⁵ We do not know precisely which copyists and scriptoria these authors were referring to, though Cicero¹¹⁶ and Catullus¹¹⁷ mention a 'bookseller's shop' or scriptorium near the Forum (*Phil*, II.2) and a place with booksellers' cases (*librarium scrinia*) where Catullus bought poems by 'bad' poets.

M. TVLLII CICERONIS EPISTOLARVM
FAMILIARIVM LIBER PRIMVS INCIPIT AD
LENTVLVM PROCONSVLEM.

M. T. C. Lentulo Proconsuli Salutem Dicit.



Go omni officio ac potius pietate erga te
ceteris satisfacio omnibus: mihi ipse nūq̃
satisfacio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuo-
rum erga me meritorum: ut quoniam tu
nisi pfecta re de me nō conquiesti: ego quia
nō idē in tua causa efficio: uitam mihi esse
acebam putem. In causa hęc sunt. Hammonius regis
legatus aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agit per eosdē
creditors: per quos cū tu aderas agebatur. Regis causa
si qui sunt qui uelint: qui pauci sunt: omnes rē ad Pom-
peium deferri uolunt. Senatus religionis calūniam nō
religione sed maliuolētia: & illius regię largitionis iuidia
cōprobat. Pompeium & hortari & orare & iā liberius accu-
sare & monere: ut magnam infamiā fugiat: non desisti-
mus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris nec admonitionibus
reliquit locum. Nam cum in sermone quotidiano tum in
senatu palam sic egit causam tuam: ut neq; eloquentia
maiore quisq; neq; grauitate: nec studio: nec contentione
agere potuerit cum summa testificatione tuorū in se offi-
ciorū & amoris erga se tui. Marcellinum tibi esse iratum
scis. Is hac regia causa excepta ceteris in rebus se acerrī-
mum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus.
Quod instituit referre de religione & sępe iam rettulit: ab
eo deduci non potest. Res ante idus acta sic est. Nam hęc
idibus mane scripsi. Hortensii & mea & Luculli sentētia
cedit religioni de exercitu. Teneri enim res aliter non
potest. Sed ex illo senatusconsulto quod te referente factū



NOTES

III

From Varro to Cicero

NOTES

1. The principal sources for the Gracchi are Plutarch's *Lives* and Appian's *Roman History*. The most important passages from their books and from works by other historians relating to the period 133-70 B.C. are collected together in A. H. J. Greenidge, A. M. Clay and E. W. Gray, *Sources for Roman History 133-70 B.C.*, Oxford, 1960²; for further information see H. C. Boren, *The Gracchi*, New York, 1968; H. H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A history of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68*, London, 1970³.
2. On social trends in the Late Republic see Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Days of Cicero*, London, 1909; W. Kroll, *Die kultur der ciceronischen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1933; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*, London, 1969; J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400*, Cambridge, 1970; H. Mielsch, *La villa Romana. Con Guida Archeologica alle ville Romane*, Florence, 1999.
3. See Cary and Scullard, *A History of Rome*, 302; W. Allen, 'The Location of Cicero's House on the Palatine Hill', *CJ* 35 (1939-1940) 134-143. See also pp. 80-82 herein.
4. On the aristocrats' luxury villas (the word 'villa' always refers to a house outside Rome), see D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*; Balsdon, *Life and Leisure*; A. G. McKay, *Houses, Villas, and Palaces in the Roman World*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1975.
5. Many specialized monographs and chapters in collective works have been written on the subject of book production and distribution and the reading public in the Roman period. See, for example, W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin, 1907; A. M. Guillemin, *Le public et la vie littéraire à Rome*, Paris, 1937; F. G. Kenyon, 'Books and Reading at Rome', in *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford, 1932, 75-85; C. Wendel and W. Göber, 'Das griechisch-römische Altertum', in *HBW*, III.1, Wiesbaden, 1955; H. Widmann, 'Herstellung und Vertrieb des Buches in der griechisch-römischen Welt', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 55 (1967) 35-81; C. Wendel, *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, ed. W. Krieg, Köln, 1974; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ Φιλόλογοι: Τὸ ἱστορικό τῆς παράδοσης τῶν κλασικῶν κειμένων* (= *Scribes and Scholars: A guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature*, tr. N. M. Panayotakis), Athens, 1981, 35-59; L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford, 1983; R. Fehrle, *Das Bibliothekswesen im alten Rom: Voraussetzungen, Bedingungen, Anfänge*/Wiesbaden, 1986; T. Kleberg, 'Roma e l'epoca greco-romana' (Italian tr. by Enrico Livrea), in *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. Cavallo, Roma/Bari, 1989, 40-80; H. Blanck, *Τὸ Βιβλίο στὴν Ἀρχαιότητα* (= *Das Buch in der Antike*, tr. D. G. Georgovasilis and M. Pfreimter), Athens, 1994, 158-175; Catherine Salles, *Lire à Rome*, Paris, 1994. On libraries during the last years of the Republic, see T. K. Dix, *Private and Public Libraries at Rome in the First Century B.C.: A preliminary study in the history of Roman libraries* (doctoral dissertation), 1999.
6. See H. Dahlmann, 'Varro', in *RE*, Suppl.

- 6 (1935), 1172-1277; Id., 'De sua vita ad Libonem', *Philologus* 97 (1948) 365-368; B. Cardauns, *Stand und Aufgaben der Varroforschung*, Mainz/Wiesbaden, 1982.
7. Suet., *Div. Jul.* XLIV.2-3: '[He formed a project] to open to the public the greatest possible libraries of Greek and Latin books, assigning to Marcus Varro the charge of procuring and classifying them.'
8. Nothing is known about the contents of *De bibliothecis*, nor is there even any oblique allusion to the precise nature of the book. For a collection of excerpts from *De bibliothecis* see *GRF*, 312-314. On the subject of book collecting and the uses of books in antiquity we know no more than the titles of two works, both by Artemon of Cassandreia, a grammarian of the second or first century B.C. who lived at Alexandria. A few years after Varro's death a portrait of him was installed in the first Roman public library, founded by Asinius Pollio, in recognition of his contribution to the organization of a public library in Rome: see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII.30.115; see also p. 132 herein.
9. See Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 200-204.
10. Classical scholars have estimated that Varro wrote about 74 works amounting to a total of nearly 620 books: see F. Ritsche, 'Die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro und die des Origines, nach dem ungedruckten Katalog des Hieronymus', *RhM* 6 (1848) 481-560.
11. See I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique*, Paris, 1984. The 'liberal arts', which Varro deals with in turn in separate books, were Grammar (Book I), Dialectic (Book II), Rhetoric (Book III), Geometry (Book IV), Arithmetic (Book V), Astronomy (Book VI), Music (Book VII), Medicine (Book VIII), and Architecture (Book IX). This was the

first time the number of the liberal arts had been specified and the first time they had been set in a particular order. Since Varro was not interested in teaching pupils to learn by rote but wanted to guide their minds from the visible to the unseen world, he stretched the bounds of standard Roman education and linked it with Greek educational practice.

12. See E. Norden, *Varro's Imagines*, ed. B. Kytzler, Berlin (was to be published in 1993). On the dissemination of *Imagines* throughout the known world see p. 113 (n. 98) herein.
13. See H. Dörrie, 'Zu Varros Konzeption der *theologia tripertita* in den *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*', in the festschrift for G. Radke entitled *Beiträge zur altitalischen Geistesgeschichte*, Münster, 1986, 76-82.
14. Varro, *De re rust.*, III.1.10; Cic., *Ad fam.* XIII.61:

'Since there are two traditional ways of life, one rural and the other urban, surely it is obvious, Pinnius, not only that those two kinds of life are lived in different places but also they have different origins in time? The fact is that the rural life is much more ancient, because there was a time when people lived in the country and had no towns. Indeed, the oldest town in Greece, according to tradition, is Thebes in Boeotia, built by King Ogyges; the oldest in Roman territory is Rome, founded by Romulus, for it is only in our own time – and not when Ennius wrote the words – that one can say, "Seven hundred years ago, or a little more or less."

'I think you know that I was very intimate with T. Pinnius. This fact he testified by his will, for he appointed me both a guardian and an heir in the second degree. To his son, who is attached to me and is a man of learning and good character, the people of Nicaea owe a large

- sum of money, amounting to eight million sesterces, and, as I am informed, they are especially anxious to pay him.'
15. Varro, *De comoediis Plautinis* (Gell., *Noct. Att.* III.3.2-9).
 16. The name of Mago is associated with the Carthage Library, which the Romans were unable to appreciate when they sacked Carthage in 146 B.C., because they did not know the Punic language. According to Columella (I.1.13) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* XVIII.5.23), Mago's treatise in twenty-eight books was the only work that the Roman Senate ordered to be translated into Latin.
 17. See pp. 34-36 herein.
 18. Young Romans learnt reading and writing at home or with a *litterator* (the equivalent of the Greek *grammatistes*) before going on to the *grammaticus* (*grammatikos*) to study not only Greek and Latin grammar but also the interpretation and criticism of poetry. Other teachers at the primary level were the *librarius* (writing teacher), the *calculator* (arithmetic teacher) and the *notarius* (clerk). Cf. Suet., *De gram.* IV. [Although the Latin word *grammaticus* meant a person skilled in the use of words in any of a number of ways – higher schoolmaster, grammarian (in the modern sense), literary or textual scholar, critic, etc. – in this book it is translated as 'grammarian' throughout, except where it is left in Latin. Similarly, the Latin word *rhetor* is translated as 'rhetorician'. – Translator's note]
 19. Suet., *De gram.* I-IV (266-274). Books of rhetorical speeches first appeared in Rome in the third century B.C., and from then on Roman orators almost invariably made a point of having their speeches written down, to preserve their fame for posterity. The origins of rhetoric in the Roman world can be traced back to the

early literary period, with the development of public political and courtroom speaking and public declamation. As time went on, however, this self-existent oral tradition was cultivated in theory and practice, on the model of Greek rhetoric. What is more, eminent men of letters started publishing their speeches from a very early date: Appius Claudius Caecus, for example, published the speech he made in the Senate in 280 B.C. against the signing of a peace treaty with King Pyrrhus. Cato the Elder incorporated his speeches into his historical writings, up to a point; and Cicero, a great admirer of his, gathered together a large number of those speeches, which by that time were not easily obtainable. In time oratory developed into such a powerful force that in 161 B.C. the Senate felt obliged to expel all orators – and philosophers – from Rome (Suet., *De rhet.* I).

20. See *Grammatici latini*, ed. H. Keil, 7 vols., Leipzig, 1857-1880, and Suppl. H. Hagen, Leipzig 1880; Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, London, 2002², 66-76.

Of the authors who wrote about grammar and textual studies under the Republic, mention should be made of Lucius Accius, Gaius Lucilius, Porcius Licinus, Quintus Valerius Soranus (who wrote a history of literature), Volcacius Sedigitus (who wrote a curious canon of Roman comic authors), Octavius Lampadio, Lucius Cornelius Sisenna, Nicanor, Aurelius Opilius, Marcus Antonius Gniphio, Servius Quintus Cosconius and Santra. The most notable writers of that kind from Cicero's time onwards were the Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus, Valerius Cato, Appius Claudius and Lucius Caesar, as well as those mentioned in the next chapter.

21. Suet., *De gram.* III.
22. See p. 50.
23. See Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 66-67, 663.
24. Suet., *De gram.* II.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* v. See also pp. 75-76 herein.
27. Suet., *De gram.* III; see also F. Mentz, *De Aelio Stilone*, Leipzig, 1890; G. Goetz, 'L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus', in *RE*, 1 (1893), 532-533.
28. Suet., *De gram.* III.
29. See p. 82.
30. See pp. 168-174.
31. Suet., *De gram.* VIII.
32. *Ibid.* IX.
33. *Ibid.* X.
34. *Ibid.* XII.
35. *Ibid.* XVI.
36. *Ibid.* XVII.
37. *Ibid.* XX. On the Palatine Library see pp. 133-137 herein.
38. *Ibid.* XXI.
39. On the library in the Porticus Octaviae see pp. 137-138.
40. Suet., *De gram.* XXIV. See also J. Aistermann (ed.), *De M. Valerio Probo Berytio*, 1910.
41. On Lucullus see Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus*; A. Keaveney, *Lucullus: A Life*, London/New York, 1992.
42. Plut., *Luc.* XXXIX.
43. The practice of bringing treasures back to Rome as spoils of war appears to have started with the Asian wars, judging by Livy's strictures against Marcellus, the conqueror of Carthage (211 B.C.), who carried off 'the ornaments of the city', showing a marked preference for Greek works of art (XXV.40.1-3). According to Strabo, after the fall of Corinth (146 B.C.) most of the artistic treasures were taken to Rome and the rest to various other cities in Italy, as Lucius Mummius Achaicus cheerfully

gave a share of the spoils to anyone who asked. Lucullus is said to have borrowed some statues to exhibit in the Temple of Felicitas and finally to have dedicated them to the goddess in perpetuity: see Petrocheilos, *Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Ἑλληνισμός*, 71-92 («Τρυφὴ καὶ Ἡθικὴ κατὰπτωσις»). On the trade in works of art see F. Coarelli, 'Il commercio delle opere d'arte in età tardo repubblicana', *Dialoghi di Archeologia* ser. 3, 1 (1983) 45-53.

44. Plut., *Luc.* XLII.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Aulus Licinius Archias was born at Antioch in about 118 B.C. and acquired Roman citizenship through the good offices of Lucullus. In 102 he settled in Rome, where he made friends with Cicero and his circle. It was Cicero who defended him (in the speech *Pro Archia*) when his claim to Roman citizenship was impugned. Archias wrote two epic poems, one on the Mithradatic War and the other on the war with the invading Cimbri, in honour of Lucullus and Marius respectively, but he refused to celebrate Cicero's consulship in a similar poem. He died in 62 B.C. See T. Reinach, *De Archia poeta*, Paris, 1890.
47. Tac., *Ann.* XI.1-3; Plut., *Luc.* XXXIX.2; P. Grimal, *Les Jardins Romains*, Paris, 1969², 126-129.
48. See I. Shatzman, 'Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics', *Collection Latomus* 142, Brussels, 1975, 380; J. van Ooteghem, *Lucius Licinius Lucullus*, Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Memoirs Collection, Vol. 53, Part 4, Brussels, 1959, 181-182; G. McCracken, 'The Villa and Tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum', *AJA* 46 (1942) 325-340; D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 184-187; Dix, *Private and*

Public Libraries, 72-97; Mielsch, *La villa Romana*, 15, 31, 107, 128.

49. See pp. 75-77 herein.

50. Cic., *De fin.* III.7-8: 'I was down at my place at Tusculum, and wanted to consult some books from the library of the young Lucullus; so I went to his country-house, as I was in the habit of doing, to help myself to the volumes I needed. On my arrival, seated in the library I found Marcus Cato; I had not known he was there. He was surrounded by piles of books on Stoicism; for he possessed, as you are aware, a voracious appetite for reading, and could never have enough of it; indeed it was often his practice actually to brave the idle censure of the mob by reading in the senate-house itself, while waiting for the senate to assemble, – he did not steal any attention from public business. So it may well be believed that when I found him taking a complete holiday, with a vast supply of books at command, he had the air of indulging in a literary debauch, if the term may be applied to so honourable an occupation. Upon this chance encounter, each of us being equally surprised to see the other, he at once rose, and we began to exchange the usual greetings. "What brings you here?" cried he; "You are from your country-seat, I suppose. Had I known you were there," he continued, "I should have anticipated you with a visit." "Yes," I answered, "the games began yesterday, so I came out of town, and arrived late in the afternoon. My reason for coming on here was to get some books from the library. By the way, Cato, it will soon be time for our friend Lucullus to make acquaintance with this fine collection; for I hope he will take more pleasure in his library than in all the other appoint-

ments of his country-house. I am extremely anxious (though of course the responsibility belongs especially to you) that he should have the kind of education that will turn him out after the same pattern as his father and our dear Caepio, and also yourself, to whom he is so closely related. And I have every motive for my interest in him. I cherish the memory of his grandfather (and you are aware how highly I esteemed Caepio, who in my belief would to-day be in the front rank, were he still alive). And also Lucullus is always present to my mind; he was a man of surpassing eminence, united to me in sentiment and opinion as well as by friendship."

51. Plut., *Luc.* XLII.

52. See T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, Paris, 1890; E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens and Mithradates', in D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture Gréco-Romain dans le monde ancien*. Travaux du VI Congrès International d'Études Classiques, Paris/Bucharest, 1976, 501-522.

53. See Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 124.

54. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV.4.8.

55. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV.3.6. See J. T. Vallance, *The Lost Theory of Asclepiades of Bithynia*, Oxford/New York, 1990.

56. Tyrannio the Elder is often confused with his younger namesake, who also lived in Rome at about the same time: see p. 83 herein. His presence in Rome is first mentioned by Cicero in 59 B.C. (*Ad Att.* II.6).

57. See Plut., *Luc.* XIX.

58. After his victory over the Romans in 88 B.C. and the massacre of Roman citizens living in Asia Minor, Mithradates tried to win the support of the Asia Minor Greeks by tempting them with various financial baits. In some cases he suc-

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ceeded in advancing his plans through this policy of his: the people of Miletus, for example, proclaimed him their city's eponymous archon in 86/5 B.C., and he was awarded similar honours at Pergamum – and these were two of the greatest centres of scholarship in the Hellenistic period.

59. Plut., *Luc.* XIV, XVIII, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVI.

60. Isidore, *Etymologiae* VI.5.

61. Plut., *Pomp.* XXXVII.

62. Pompey had two villas, one at Cumae and the other at Alba, but it is not known whether he had organized libraries there: see D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 184.

On the death of Pompey's father, Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, Pompey was called upon to defend him posthumously against a charge of having embezzled funds from the public treasury after the successful siege of Asculum, near Ancona. What is more, he himself was accused of having in his possession some books that had been taken as spoils on the fall of Asculum: see Plutarch, *Pomp.* IV.

63. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV.3.6. Lenaeus Pompeius was a freedman of Pompey the Great who accompanied his master on his campaigns in the capacity of a private tutor. He subsequently studied under Laelius Archelaus. See Suetonius, *De gram.* XV.

64. Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* XVII.7. The king in question was Hiempsal II, king of Numidia (106-60 B.C.), who sided with Marius in the civil war with Sulla.

65. See M. Gelzer, W. Kroll, R. Philippon and K. Büchner, 'M. Tullius Cicero', in *RE*, 7A₁ (1939), 827-1274; M. Gelzer, *Cicero, ein biographischer Versuch*, Wiesbaden, 1969; M. Fuhrmann, *Cicero und die römische Republik. Eine Biographie*,

München, 1991³; Elizabeth Rawson, *Cicero. A Portrait*, Bristol, 1983; T. Wiedemann, *Cicero and the End of the Roman Republic*, London, 1994.

66. This may have been Ariston of Alexandria, a philosopher of the first century B.C. who studied under Antiochus of Ascalon at the Academy and subsequently joined the Peripatetic school. In a letter written on 15th October, 50 B.C., Cicero tells Atticus that he is staying in the best possible location in the whole city of Athens – on the Acropolis: *Quaeso, quid nobis futurum est? In arce Athenis statio mea nunc placet* (*Ad Att.* VI.9).

67. See, for example, Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, *The Letters of Cicero*, London, 1908; D. R. Bailey Shackleton (ed.), *Cicero, Letters to Atticus*, vol. III, Cambridge, Mass./London, 1999; R. Sommer, 'T. Pomponius Atticus und Ciceros Werke', *Hermes* 61 (1926) 389-422; V. Buzz, 'Editionstechnik', *RAC* IV (1959) 597-610; T. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*, Darmstadt, 1967, 23-25.

68. See O.E. Schmidt, 'Ciceros villen', *Neue Jahrb. für das Klass. Altertum* 2 (1899) 328 ff., 446 ff. On the villa at Tusculum see G. McCracken, 'Cicero's Tusculan Villa', *CJ* 30 (1934-1935) 261-277; Dix, *Private and Public Libraries*, 98-138. On the villa Cicero is alleged to have owned at Formiae, see C.F. Giuliani and M. Guaitoli, 'Il ninfeo minore della villa detta di Cicerone a Formia', *RM* 79 (1972) 191-219.

69. Cicero acquired the villa at Astura in 46 B.C., and it was there that he retreated into seclusion after his daughter's death. On the Astura villa see F. Coarelli, *Lazio, Guide archeologiche Laterza* 5, Roma/Bari, 1982, 298, 300.

70. See p. 63.

71. See P. F. Pütz, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis Bibliotheca* (doctoral dissertation), Münster, 1925; T. R. Glover, 'Cicero among his Books', in *Springs of Hellas and Other Essays* (1946), New York, 131-159; F. L. Meyer, *Cicero und die Bücher* (doctoral dissertation), Zürich, 1955.
72. Cicero informs us that Lucius Calpurnius Piso, a political rival of his, stole furniture and marble columns from the house on the Palatine and that the house was eventually burnt down. The Senate gave the great orator two million sesterces in compensation, which made it possible for him to start repairing the damage immediately. See Elena Scuotto, 'Realtà umana e atteggiamenti politici e culturali di Lucio Calpurnio Pisone Cesonino', *RAAN* 47 (1972) 150-154. On the villa at Tusculum see R. Cagnat, 'Le Tusculanum de Cicéron', *Journal des Savants* 9 (1911) 145-152.
73. On the grammarian Servius Claudius (or Clodius) see p. 69.
74. The first reference to this gift occurs in a letter written in May, 60 B.C. (I.20), where Cicero states that the books in question had been bequeathed to Papirius by Servius Claudius. From another letter (II.1) written the next month, again from Rome, we learn that Papirius had acquired the books from his brother, the implication being that Claudius had originally left them to Lucius Papirius's brother.
75. Besides Tyrannio of Amisus (whose real name was Theophrastus), a grammarian of the first century B.C. who had studied under Dionysius Thrax, there was another Tyrannio (the Younger) active in Rome at least during Augustus's reign: he was the son of Artemodorus, of Phoenician descent, and his real name was Diocles. Tyrannio the Younger was

taken to Rome as a prisoner of war and was manumitted by Terentia, Cicero's widow. He too was a grammarian: he wrote treatises on grammar and prosody and one on Homeric punctuation, according to a list in *Souda*. However, his writings were often confused with those of his namesake, Tyrannio the Elder.

76. On the eventful history of Aristotle's books and the story of how they came into the possession of Sulla's family, see Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 124.
77. On Tyrannio the Elder and his project of editing and publishing Aristotle's authentic teaching books, see Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 125-126.
78. Cic., *Ad. fam.* XIII.77.3: 'Once more I beg you with more than common earnestness, in the name of our friendship and your unbroken zeal in my service, to bestow some pains on the following matter also. Dionysius, a slave of mine who had the care of my library, worth a large sum of money, having purloined a large number of books, and thinking that he could not escape punishment, absconded.'
79. Perhaps one of Atticus's slaves.
80. Antipater, a lawyer, orator and historian, was born between 180 and 170 B.C. and lived in Rome, working mainly as a teacher of rhetoric. Brutus's epitome was an abridgement of his seven-book history of the wars against Hannibal, which, according to Cicero, was entitled *Bellum Punicum*.
81. While on the subject of Cicero's letters, this seems to be the right place to mention Tiro, his trusted adviser and amanuensis, who kept copies of his correspondence. Marcus Tullius Tiro, the slave who was manumitted in 53 B.C., wrote a posthumous biography of Cicero as a tribute to his former master and pa-

CHAPTER III

From Varro to Cicero

tron. There is good evidence to suggest that it was Tiro who published much of Cicero's correspondence as well as his speeches and a collection of notes on the speeches that he never completed. He is also said to have published a compilation of Cicero's most memorable sayings which was used as source material by later writers, including Plutarch.

Tiro was also a writer himself, chiefly on grammar, and he made improvements in the old system of shorthand writing in use since the time of Ennius: the new symbols he invented were called *Notae Tironianae*. See W. C. McDermott, 'M. Cicero and M. Tiro', *Historia* 21 (1972) 259-286.

82. Cicero, *Ὅταν σκέπτομαι τὸν θάνατον* [*When I Think of Death*], tr. Olga Papakosta, Athens: Okeanida, 2003, 14-15.
83. On Hermodorus see Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 97.
84. These three, with Dionysius, Menophilus and perhaps Araus, were copyists working for Atticus.
85. This phrase, 'in the vein of Heraclides' (*Herakleideion*), is one that Cicero used often in his letters from 44 onwards with reference to books that he was intending to write. It may be an allusion to Heraclides Ponticus, the philosopher of the fourth century B.C., who usually wrote in dialogue form, putting the words into the mouths of persons long dead such as Thales, Empedocles and, curiously, Zoroaster. See esp. *Ad Att.* XIII.19.
86. This was Athenodorus of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher of the first century B.C., pupil of Posidonius of Apamea and teacher of Augustus. He was a friend of Cicero's and elucidated for him Posidonius's notes on the doctrines of Panaetius *On Duty*.
87. Cic., *Ad. fam.* IX.1.2: 'Allow me to tell

you that, since my arrival in the city, I have effected a reconciliation with my old friends. I mean my books: though the truth is that I had not abandoned their society because I had fallen out with them, but because I was half ashamed to look them in the face. For I thought, when I plunged into the maelstrom of civil strife, with allies whom I had the worst possible reason for trusting, that I had not shewn proper respect for their precepts. They pardon me: they recall me to our old intimacy, and you, they say, have been wiser than I for never having left it.'

On Cicero's relations with Varro see C. Kumaniecki, 'Cicerone e Varrone', *Athenaeum*, n.s. 40 (1962) 221-243.

88. On Atticus see Nepos, *Atticus*; A. J. Marshall, 'Library Resources and Creative Writing at Rome', *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 252; T. P. Wiseman, '*Pete nobiles amicos*: Poets and patrons in Late Republican Rome', in *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*, ed. B. K. Gold, Austin, 1982, 28; Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, 100 ff.; Bailey Shackleton, *Cicero, Letters*.
89. Evidently Atticus came to the rescue of Athens on several occasions by helping to solve the city's financial problems: see Nepos, *Atticus* II.4.
90. Nepos, *Atticus* IV.1.
91. Cic., *Ad Att.* I.4, II.1.
92. Atticus built himself a splendid villa in Epirus, between Chaonia and Thesprotia, which he adorned with all kinds of artistic treasures and historic inscriptions. He called it Amalthea or Amaltheum, an obvious allusion to Amalthea, the goat that suckled the infant Zeus in Crete. [The 'horn of Amalthea' is the original Greek term for what the Romans called *cornu copiae*, the 'horn of plenty' – Translator's note.] Before going to visit Atti-

- cus there, Cicero asked him for a detailed description of the villa and information about the poems and myths relating to Amalthea (*Ad Att.* I.16).
93. Nepos, *Atticus* XIII.2.
94. Cic., *Ad Att.* IV.1: '... which happened also to be the name-day of the colony of Brundisium and of the temple of Safety, near your house.'
95. Nepos, *Atticus* XIII.3.
96. The Eumolpidae were the Athenian sacerdotal family whose members ordained the priests of the Temple of Demeter at Eleusis.
97. Cic., *Ad Att.* v.12.
98. There is no firm evidence to show that Atticus ever published or promoted Varro's work, but in the years when Varro was living in seclusion on his country estate (59-50 B.C.) Atticus evidently possessed a large collection of his writings, to judge by a letter he wrote to Cicero in 54 B.C. (IV.14). More than once during that year Atticus begged Cicero to cast Varro as one of the interlocutors in his dialogues (IV.6, XIII.12). In 45 B.C. Cicero sent the manuscript of his *Academica* ('the books dedicated to Varro') to be copied by Atticus's scribes, and then sent it on to Varro (XIII.23). A year later, in 44, he backed Atticus in his admiration of Varro's *Imagines* (XVI.11) and Varro dedicated *De vita populi romani* to Atticus. According to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* XXXV.11), copies of Varro's *Imagines* had found their way 'to every land' (*in omnis terras*): see also n. 12 herein.
99. *Cato* is an abridged version of the longer biography of Cato the Elder that Nepos wrote at Atticus's request and included in his *De viris illustribus*. On Nepos generally see Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 536-550.
100. I refer to Caesar's *Anticato* (*Anticaton*) and Cicero's views on that work, which he confided to Atticus (XIII.50, XII.40).
101. In the relevant letter (XII.40) Cicero refers first to the note that Hirtius had sent him on the subject of Caesar's *Anticato* and goes on to tell Atticus about Hirtius's book listing Cato's faults. He asks Atticus to have the book copied by his copyists in Rome and then to circulate it widely: *Qualis futura sit Caesaris vituperatio....*
102. Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, a politician and one of the leading orators of his day, frequently found himself speaking in opposition to Cicero, but this did not affect their friendship: in fact Cicero dedicated to him the dialogue that bore his name (*Hortensius*, now lost), which deals with the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy.
103. Gell., *Noct. Att.* IX.4.1-6. In one part of the docks Greek books were for sale parcelled up into job lots, but they were so old and had been so badly treated that they were usually in shocking condition. However, there were some valuable works among them, and so Gellius decided to buy most of the books on offer at a knockdown price: 'There I saw some bundles of books exposed for sale, and I at once eagerly hurried to them. Now, all those books were in Greek, filled with marvellous tales, things unheard of, incredible; but the writers were ancient and of no mean authority: Aristaeas of Proconnesus, Isigonius of Nicaea, Ctesias and Onesicritus, Philostephanus and Hegesias. The volumes themselves, however, were filthy from long neglect, in bad condition and unsightly. Nevertheless, I

drew near and asked their price; then, attracted by their extraordinary and unexpected cheapness, I bought a large number of them for a small sum, and ran through all of them hastily in the course of the next two nights. As I read, I culled from them, and noted down, some things that were remarkable and for the most part unmentioned by our native writers; these I have inserted here and there in these notes, so that whoever shall read them may not be found to be wholly ignorant and ἀνή-
χουος, or “uninstructed”, when hearing tales of that kind.’

104. Cic., *Ad Att.* IV.1.

105. Cic., *Ad Att.* II.6.

Buthrotum had grown into a city, to judge by the *Synecdemus*, the list of cities compiled by Hierocles. Excavations have now uncovered what was probably the whole of the ancient city, revealing administrative buildings, the aqueduct, the bath-house, the theatre, the three-apsed palace and the so-called gymnasium: see W. Bowden, R. Hodges and K. Lako, ‘Roman and Late-Antique Butrint: Excavations and Survey 2000-2001’, *JRA* 15 (2002) 151-180; and, more generally, W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus. The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province*, London, Duckworth, 2003. Buthrotum was one of Aeneas’s ports of call on his voyage to the West: see Virgil, *Aeneid* III.294 ff.

106. In about 44 B.C. Atticus had some problems with his estate at Buthrotum and asked Cicero to use his good offices with Caesar to set matters to rights: Cic., *Ad Att.* XIV.17, 20, XV.2, 12.

The conquest of Epirus by Aemilius Paullus in 167 B.C. was followed by changes in the pattern of land use, as rich Romans bought sizable properties

there, mainly in the areas round Ambracia and Buthrotum. The increased availability of cheap labour, and more particularly the steep growth in the number of slaves, made it possible for Romans like Atticus to run large estates: these landowners were the *synepeirotae* and *epirotici homines* mentioned by Cicero in his correspondence and by Varro in *De re rustica*: see N. Purcell, ‘The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy’, in *Nicopolis I: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Nicopolis*, ed. E. Chrysos, Preveza, 1987, 71-90; and, more generally, P. Cabanes, «Ἀπὸ τῇ Ρωμαϊκῇ Κατάκτησιν ὡς τῇ μεγάλῃ κρίσει τοῦ 3ου αἰῶνα μ.Χ.», in *Ἡπειρος, 4000 χρόνια Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας καὶ Πολιτισμοῦ*, ed. M. V. Sakellariou, Athens, 1997, 115-139.

107. On the roads of Epirus Vetus see N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas*, New York, 1967, 670-700; P. Soustal, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini 3], Vienna, 1981, 88-94.

108. In Augustus’s reign an attempt was made to map the whole of the known world so that there would be a geographical representation of the extent of the Roman Empire. The project was undertaken by Agrippa, one of Augustus’s generals, who took twenty years to complete it. The material compiled at that time formed the basis of the map now known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

109. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XVIII.9.5. At the port of Patrae, Gellius went into a library where he found an old copy of the *Odyssia* of Livius Andronicus: ‘I think

that both Marcus Cato and Quintus Ennius wrote *insecenda* and *insece* without *u*. For in the library at Patrae I found a manuscript of Livius Andronicus of undoubted antiquity, in which the first line contained this word without the letter *u*.'

110. In his correspondence with Atticus, Cicero refers to marble statues from Megara that Atticus had sent him (VIII.8) and to bronze amphorae from Corinth (II.1).
111. See p. 299.
112. See p. 97.
113. Varro, *De ling. lat.* VIII.51.
114. See p. 83.
115. Diod. Sic., *Bibl.* XL.8: 'Some of the books were pirated and published before being corrected and before they had received the finishing touches, at a time when we were not yet fully satisfied with the work. These we disown. But in order that these books, by getting before the public, may not mar the general plan of our history, we have deemed it necessary to publish a statement that will expose any mis-

conception. Our subject matter is contained within forty books, and in the first six we have recorded the events and legends prior to the Trojan War. In these we have not fixed the dates with any precision, since no chronological record of them was at hand.'

116. Cic., *Phil.* II.21: 'You have said that Publius Clodius was slain by my contrivance. What would men have thought if he had been slain at the time when you pursued him in the forum with a drawn sword, in the sight of all the Roman people; and when you would have settled his business if he had not thrown himself up the stairs of a bookseller's shop, and, shutting them against you, checked your attack by that means? And I confess that at that time I favoured you, but even you yourself do not say that I had advised your attempt.'
117. Cat., *Car.* 14, 17: 'No, no, my joker, you will not get off so easily: for at dawn I will haste to the booksellers' cases; the Caesii, the Aquini, Suffenus, every poisonous rubbish will I collect....'

IV
THE AGE
OF
THE CAESARS



MVNIC. PL. IX. P. M.
AN. XVIII

THE AGE OF THE CAESARS

The first public libraries in Rome and the Emperors' relations with writers and their books

In 29 B.C., in the month of August, Octavian returned to Rome to celebrate a triple triumph: the conquest of Illyria, the victory at Actium and the annexation of Egypt. Now he was truly all-powerful; and his very omnipotence brought enormous relief to the Roman people after a hundred long years of civil war. Little by little, Octavian consolidated his position and won recognition of his supremacy by being awarded the titles of *princeps*, *Pontifex Maximus* (12 B.C.) and finally *Pater Patriae* (2 B.C.).¹

Meanwhile changes were taking place on the Roman political scene. Rhetorical brilliance, which had always been of crucial importance in political life, was no longer enough to ensure a person's rise to high office and senior administrative posts in the machinery of government. Power was wielded by one man and one man only, and not even the most powerful citizen could expect or hope for advancement, at least through normal constitutional channels. If someone wanted to win the favour of the supreme ruler and appointment to a position of power under him, the tactics and abilities he needed were different from those that might be expected to swing an election or amaze an audience or a jury.

In these new conditions, the prospects facing an intelligent man were altered and three main career options were open to him: he could aim for the judiciary, hoping to make his way on from there into the Senate and win some exalted position; or he could pursue the study of rhetoric for its own sake; or he could devote his energies to literature, assuming that he had enough talent and creativity to be able to produce a work of some distinction.

Augustus the god. Augustus, who had literary leanings and had received a good grounding in Greek, first from the rhetorician Apollodorus of Pergamum and later from the philosopher Arius Didymus,² was very well aware of the

*The historical
background of the
Augustan Age*

1. Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, in the full armour of a Roman general. Vatican Museum.

power of the written word to entrench not only his monarchical rule but also his future reputation. He had given evidence of his own literary talents at an early age in works of prose and poetry. With the idea of consolidating his imperial status in the minds of the Roman people, he urged poets – sometimes in person, sometimes using trusted friends to speak for him – to draw inspiration from his own works and from his person, and to interpret his motives, his actions and his political stance through the prism of high ideals. But men of letters, modelling themselves on the writers of the Republican period, did not find it all easy to paint a character sketch of an ideal, altruistic ruler while



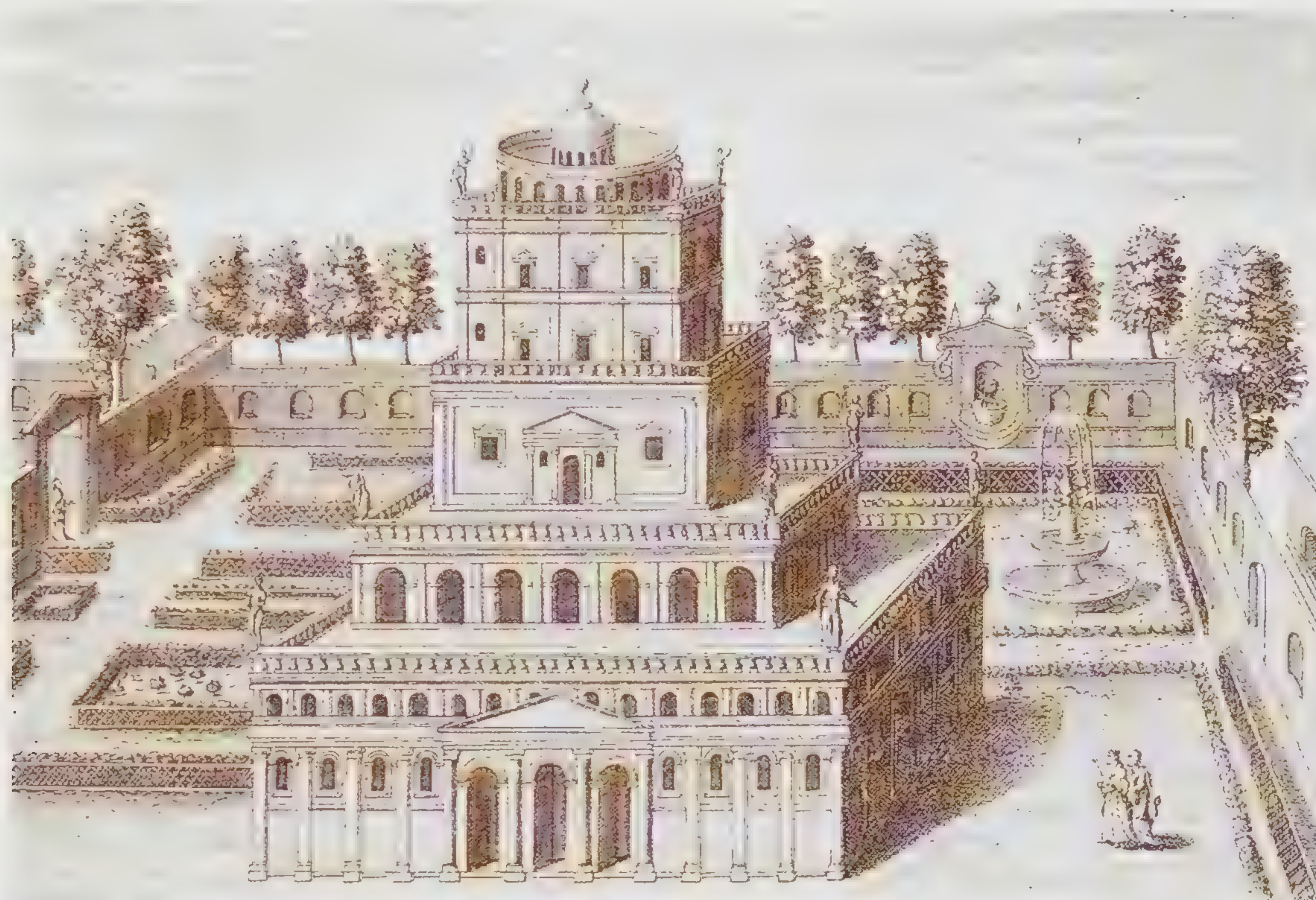
2. Virgil presenting a copy of his Aeneid to Augustus. Woodcut from *M. Vergilius, Opera*, Bernardinus Stagninus, 1507.

hinting as discreetly as possible that the person they had in mind was Augustus. Consequently Virgil, Horace and Propertius, not to mention Ovid, all stubbornly refused to sing Augustus's praises. Only Varius Rufus complied with his patron's wishes and wrote an Augustan epic, which soon sank into oblivion.³ Augustus reacted magnanimously to the uncooperative attitude of these great poets and made no attempt to force them to further his self-seeking ends, except in the case of Ovid, whose name is shrouded in a pall of mystery.

Augustus's awareness of the potential propaganda value of the written word is also apparent from two important initiatives of his: the choice of Maecenas as his first 'minister' and the burning of the prophetic books.

Maecenas's circle and imperial censorship. Gaius Maecenas, sometimes called Cilnius, was probably descended from an old Etruscan family.⁴ He was one of Octavian's earliest supporters and came to be an intimate friend of his, a man whom the future Emperor Augustus trusted implicitly and used as his 'agent'. His high standing with the Emperor brought him enormous wealth, which enabled him to live a life of luxury and build up a splendid collection of works of art. In his fine house, known to all as the *turris Maecenatiana*, he enjoyed the good things of life with a close circle of friends. Although he never

held public office and never became a senator, the power given to him by his status at the Emperor's confidant made it possible for him to control the 'touchy race of poets' (Hor., *Epist.* II.2.102) in the most effective way, by treating them now with munificence, now with kindness and courtesy. Being neither as learned nor as clever as Atticus, he was no *arbiter elegantium* setting standards of taste for the world to follow: he contented himself with providing



3. Maecenas's house in Rome, with the famous gazebo affording a panoramic view of the seven hills. Print from *Histoire Universelle depuis le commencement...*, vol. 21, pp. 382-383.

the great poets with the leisure to concentrate on their writing and perhaps giving them financial assistance, while controlling the slant of their work. Virgil dedicated the *Georgics* to Maecenas, and Horace the first book of *Satires* and the *Odes*. Horace, who was given a house in the Sabine territory by Maecenas (after 35 B.C.), has given us the most vivid picture of his patron's circle, which included Propertius, Aemilius Macer, Domitius Marsus and Plotius Tucca, among many others.⁵

In the Augustan Age, although the spoken word lost its political importance and was limited to displays of literary skill in the lecture hall, it still sometimes happened that orators were banished and writers persecuted. On the death of Lepidus in 12 B.C., Augustus was proclaimed *Pontifex Maximus*, whereupon he issued an edict ordering the confiscation of all prophetic books,

Maecenas's role
in intellectual life

whether originally written in Greek or Latin, of anonymous authorship or by writers of little repute. Two thousand such books were collected from every corner and destroyed by fire. Only the Sibylline Books were spared, and only a selection of those: Augustus deposited them in two gilt caskets and had them built into the foundations of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.⁶

The Sibylline Books had an interesting history. They were burnt in the great conflagration that destroyed the Capitol in 83 B.C. and replaced by an anthology of such oracular writings compiled by a select committee. What worried Augustus was that there were a great many 'Sibylline Books' circulating in Rome, some of them containing politically ambiguous precepts. He therefore made a selection of them and, on the pretext that their meaning had been so corrupted by frequent revisions that they were no longer comprehensible to the common man, ordered them to be replaced in their entirety.⁷

Augustus was well aware of the importance to the Roman people of the Sibylline Books, which linked myth with history: for example, Virgil's *Aeneid*, the writing of which was closely followed by Augustus, called to mind Aeneas's supplication to the Sibyl (a priestess of Apollo and a prophetess) to reveal to him the exact spot where he and his followers were to settle in Latium. The Sibylline Books, which were moved from the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol to the new Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, were intended to be used exclusively for sacred purposes. When Augustus gave orders for the construction of a magnificent new temple for the worship of Apollo⁸ on the Capitol, in a thoroughly imperial environment, he also instituted (in 17 B.C.) an annual festival of Apollo and appointed priests, of whom he himself was one. The principal 'cult statue' in the temple was in fact a group of three, a trinity comprising Apollo in the centre, playing the lyre, flanked by his sister Artemis and his mother Leto.⁹ At the foot of this sculptural group, which was probably made of red Egyptian granite, the gilt caskets containing the Sibylline Books were deposited, presumably in a vault. Thus Augustus was able to erect a sacred monument – Apollo being worshipped at that time as the god of prophecy, among other things, and the Cumaean Sibyl as a prophetess and his priestess – that alluded to a divine knowledge of the fate of Rome confirmed by the 'authentic' Sibylline Books. The medium through which that divine

4. *The Cumaean Sibyl burning six of the nine books of Sibylline oracles because Tarquinius Superbus had refused to pay her the price she asked for them. Fresco by Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra in the Salone Sistino in the Vatican, 1585-1590.*



knowledge was communicated to the Roman people was the Emperor himself in his capacity as the priest of Apollo: this was something that gratified his wishes and fitted in perfectly with his plans. The reality beneath the surface is hinted at by the allegorical character of the marble relief (see Fig. 5).

Augustus and the new literature. In Augustus's time the 'confrontation' between Roman and Greek literature, so characteristic of the Republican period, entered a new phase. In addition to the epic, which was given a new form, new

genres such as the 'eclogue', the lyric ode and the verse epistle made their appearance, while others created earlier, such as the elegiac love poem and the satire, were perfected. But the distinctive characteristic of the Augustan Age, as regards literature and culture generally, was the tendency towards the separate development of the poet's ideas. The new literature of the Augustan period is epitomized by three poets: Virgil and Horace, who swam against the tide of their time with their 'strange' works, and Ovid, who may be said to have inaugurated the imperial era.¹⁰



5. Marble relief of the Apollonian trinity (Apollo, Leto and Artemis), with the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill in the background. Rome, Casa Albani.

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) was born in 70 B.C. and in his youth frequented the circle of the Epicurean philosopher Siro in Neapolis (Naples). Besides his famous *Georgics* and *Eclogues* (or *Bucolica*), he wrote the *Aeneid*, an epic in which – as he informs us in the introductory verses – he set out to link Troy with Rome and Carthage.¹¹ Virgil's work was very popular if we are to believe Suetonius, who states that the success of the *Eclogues* on their first appearance was such that they were frequently rendered by singers on the stage. Augustus took a close interest in the progress of Virgil's poetical works, especially the *Aeneid*, so much so that even when he was away on a campaign he demanded that Virgil send him 'something from the *Aeneid*'.¹² In fact that great epic was probably saved for posterity through Augustus's intervention

and in defiance of the poet's wishes as stated in his will. Before leaving Italy on a trip to Greece, Virgil had asked L. Varius Rufus to burn the *Aeneid* if anything should happen to him on his journey. On reaching Brundisium on his way home, mortally ill, he constantly called for his book-boxes, intending to burn the poem himself. On his death soon afterwards (19 B.C.), he bequeathed his writings to Varius Rufus and Plotius Tucca with the stipulation that they should publish nothing which he himself would not have allowed to be published. However, at the request of the Emperor, who was himself the heir to a quarter of Virgil's estate, Varius and Tucca did publish the *Aeneid*. They went about their work with sympathy and reverence, making only a few slight corrections and leaving the incomplete lines just as they were.¹³

The publishers
of the 'Aeneid'

Virgil engaged as his librarian a Greek freedman named Eros who, in his capacity as the poet's amanuensis, wrote down the necessary corrections to the verses after the readings that Virgil gave to select groups of his friends.¹⁴ At this point it is worth mentioning a form of literary activity that developed around Virgil's work, especially the *Aeneid*, even before his death, and is characteristic of



6. Virgil between two of the Muses, Clio and Melpomene, holding a copy of the *Aeneid*. Mosaic from the so-called 'House of Virgil' at Sousse, Tunisia. Circa 4th c. A.D. Bardo Museum, Tunisia.

the bibliographical basis of much writing at this time. Herennius wrote a book listing Virgil's errata; Perellius Faustus compiled a list of his pilferings; Quintus Octavius Avitus filled eight volumes with the verses that Virgil had borrowed, giving their sources; and Quintus Asconius Pedianus wrote a book entitled *Against the Detractors of Virgil* in which he set forth some of the charges against him, especially the accusation that he borrowed a great deal from Homer.¹⁵

To judge by the models and sources used by Virgil in his writings, the books that Eros looked after in the poet's library must have included the pastoral idylls of Theocritus, the didactic poems of Aratus and the *Works and*

Virgil's
librarian

FORMON SUAVITATIBUS



ET MINORVM SATYRORVM
POI PRIMA SYRACOSIO DIGNA
NOSTRANIGESVITISILV
CVM CANE REM RIGESILL
VELLE EMONVIT PASTOR
TASCERE OTORITONTESDIE
NUNCE GONAMQVE SVPE
VARE IVASCUTIANTE TRI

ADQVLAIREMENAICA



T SILEM ORVM DELECIA¹⁰
STVDE REVERSV
ABITARETHALEA
LIACYNTHIVSAURE
AITTYRETINGVLS
VADICERICARMEN
FERVNTQVIDICERELVDES
CONDEREBELLA

Days of Hesiod. For the composition of the *Aeneid* the library would surely have contained the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, probably the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius and probably the works of Lycophron, which influenced him in the prophetic conception of the *Aeneid*. Virgil may also have been influenced to some extent by lost works of ancient Roman literature, such as those of Naevius and Ennius.

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) was born in 65 B.C., studied Greek philosophy and literature in Athens, sided with Brutus and, after the latter's defeat at Philippi (42 B.C.), found himself penniless back in Rome.¹⁶ There he consorted with patrons of literary life such as Asinius Pollio and Marcus Valerius Messalla and was admitted into Maecenas's circle. Augustus offered

him a position as his secretary in recognition of his talent and, although Horace politely declined the imperial favour, Augustus continued to seek his friendship, having reconciled himself to the idea that the poet could not be bought.¹⁷

Horace was fully aware of the poet's role on the social plane, and as the priest of the Muses he had



8. Horace among his commentators. Woodcut from F. Horatius, *Opera*, Venezia, Doninus Pincius, 1505.

Horace's views
on the role
of the poet

the right not only to claim a certain moral authority but also to assert that his work was beneficial to the city. He also believed that a poet should be politically and financially independent and should function as an intermediary between a divine power and the common man.

Horace lived and worked under the all-protecting cover of Maecenas's patronage, which meant that he did not have to worry about making ends meet. From that position of security he sharply criticized society and made frequent references to publishing practices from a philosophical viewpoint. In his first book, the *Satires* (*Sermones*), he wrote that no one should be afraid of



7. Virgil flanked by a leather box, presumably containing books, and a lectern. From a parchment codex of Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, ca. A.D. 500. Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 38670).



Augusta Vindelicorum ad insigne. vniuers. Cum privilegio Cæs. perpetuo. Anno Chri. 1592.

9. P. M. Vergilius, Georgica, Aeneis, ..., Venezia, Bernardo Giunti, 1592.

Horace because his works were not available on the market and he only read them to a closed circle of friends. Elsewhere he remarks that Horace does not want to be liked by all the world and goes to enumerate the few whose opinions he values. As for the publication of his poems, in the *Ars poetica* (lines 386-390) he urges and advises writers to write nothing 'against Minerva's will', to invite comments on their work from other men of letters and to wait many years before publishing anything they have written.

Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) was born into an old aristocratic family in the year that Cicero was murdered (43 B.C.).¹² Being a generation younger than Virgil, he took the *Pax Augusta* for granted, never having experienced the horrors of decades of civil war.

Giving up the idea of a career in the Senate, he devoted himself to writing poetry. His talent aroused the interest of a literary patron, M. Valerius Messalla



10. Ovid in exile at Tomi. Woodcut from N. Ovidius, *Tristium Libri*, Venice, Ioannes Tacuinus, 1641

Corvinus, and he soon became a member of Messalla's circle.¹³ He formed views of his own on the two great poets of his generation, for he knew Virgil by sight, listened to Horace reciting his odes and had lively discussions with Propertius. In his everyday life and his work he mixed with cultured friends, so he had no need to feel that he was in any way a client of Augustus.

Between A.D. 2 and 8, Ovid wrote his two great works, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, the latter being a dissertation in verse on the Roman calendar and the various festivals of the Roman year. When he had written the first six books of the *Fasti*, and the *Metamorphoses* were still in their unrevised draft form, he was banished (or perhaps it would be more correct to say deported, as he remained a Roman citizen) to Tomi on the Black Sea. The real reason for his banishment is not recorded: he himself admitted he had made an error and said that the reason for his banishment was very well known but that he was not allowed to divulge it.

On his long journey into exile he wrote the first book of the *Tristia* (*Poems*

of *Sadness*), which he sent back to Rome in an attempt to keep his name and his work before the public eye and prevent it from falling into oblivion, as Augustus would have liked. In it he suggests that by ‘imprisoning’ Rome’s greatest living poet the Emperor might perhaps have overstepped the limits of his rightful power (*Trist.* III.3.53-54).²⁰ He refers repeatedly to the books in his library, which he describes as waiting on the shelves to welcome their new reader (*Trist.* I.1.105-118); and in Book III he says he would gladly have given copies of his own writings to the public libraries, but – as he mentions later – his poems were no longer welcome in Roman libraries (*Trist.* III.1.59 ff.).

The bitterness of Ovid’s words (A.D. 9) transports us straight into the world of Roman public libraries: by then it was about thirty years since the foundation of the first public library in Rome and the state now adopted an entirely different approach, taking much more interest in public libraries and the official policy with regard to books generally. The works of the greatest poets of the Augustan Age were kept in the imperial libraries, together with older works of Greek and Latin literature, and those libraries came to be a point of reference for Roman intellectual life and for the Emperor himself.

Facts about the first public library in Rome. Julius Caesar’s ambition of founding a public library in Rome with separate Greek and Latin sections, as Suetonius informs us,²¹ was eventually brought to fruition by an extremely gifted person, Gaius Asinius Pollio.²²

Pollio was a senator who sided with Mark Antony after Caesar’s assassination in 44 B.C. In 40 B.C. he was appointed consul, an event celebrated in verse by Virgil, and in 39 he fought a victorious campaign against the Parthians, from which he came back laden with spoils of great value. Thereafter he retired from politics and maintained a neutral stance during the civil wars. An ardent lover of literature, he was on friendly terms with Catullus, Cinna and Horace, and, as we shall see, he is said to have introduced the practice of *recitationes*, that is readings of new works by young poets, which he held at his home.²³ His villa came to be used as a meeting-place by his literary friends, whose number was later swelled by the addition of the Greek historian Timagenes of Alexandria after the latter had fallen into disfavour with Augustus.²⁴

Pollio is mentioned in the sources as a great collector of works of art: among other things, he possessed a very fine library full of books that he had bought for himself on the Roman market and others that he had brought back as spoils from the war against the Parthians. His initiative in setting up the first public

library is to be dated to some time soon after 39 B.C., before the final, irreparable breach between Antony and Octavian and when Rome was still living with the consequences of the Second Triumvirate. Pollio attached his library to the Atrium Libertatis, a complex of public buildings near the area that was later to be occupied by the Forum Trajanum, and he rebuilt the Atrium Libertatis at

his own expense.²⁵ As regards the organization of that first library,²⁶ we have to accept that Pollio was supported by Varro. (As we have seen, the latter had been proscribed by Antony and had escaped with his life through the intervention of his friend Calenus in 43 B.C., though his villa at Casinum – with the library, or part of it – had been destroyed.) Quite possibly Pollio, wishing to acknowledge the help Varro had given him with the library project and to honour the author of the treatise *De bibliothecis* (which he was commissioned to write by Caesar),²⁷ decided to adorn his library with a portrait of Varro, alone among living writers.²⁸

Asinius Pollio's decision to rebuild the old Atrium Libertatis, where the censors had had their offices under the Republic, probably related to Caesar's original plan.²⁹ It is now known that the Atrium was north-west of the Forum Julium, behind the Temple of Venus and above



11. Julius Caesar. Print from T. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Leeuwarden, F. Halmas, 1690.

the 'bridge' connecting the Capitol with the Quirinal Hill. In other words, it was an annexe to Caesar's Forum. Nothing is known about the architecture of the Atrium Libertatis: the use of the word *atrium*, which was retained even after Pollio's alterations, suggests that the various buildings and offices were arranged round a central courtyard with protective colonnades connecting the buildings, including the double library. Most probably the complex included an auxiliary structure, or perhaps an integral part of the main buildings, serving as the public record office (the *tabularium* of the censors).³⁰

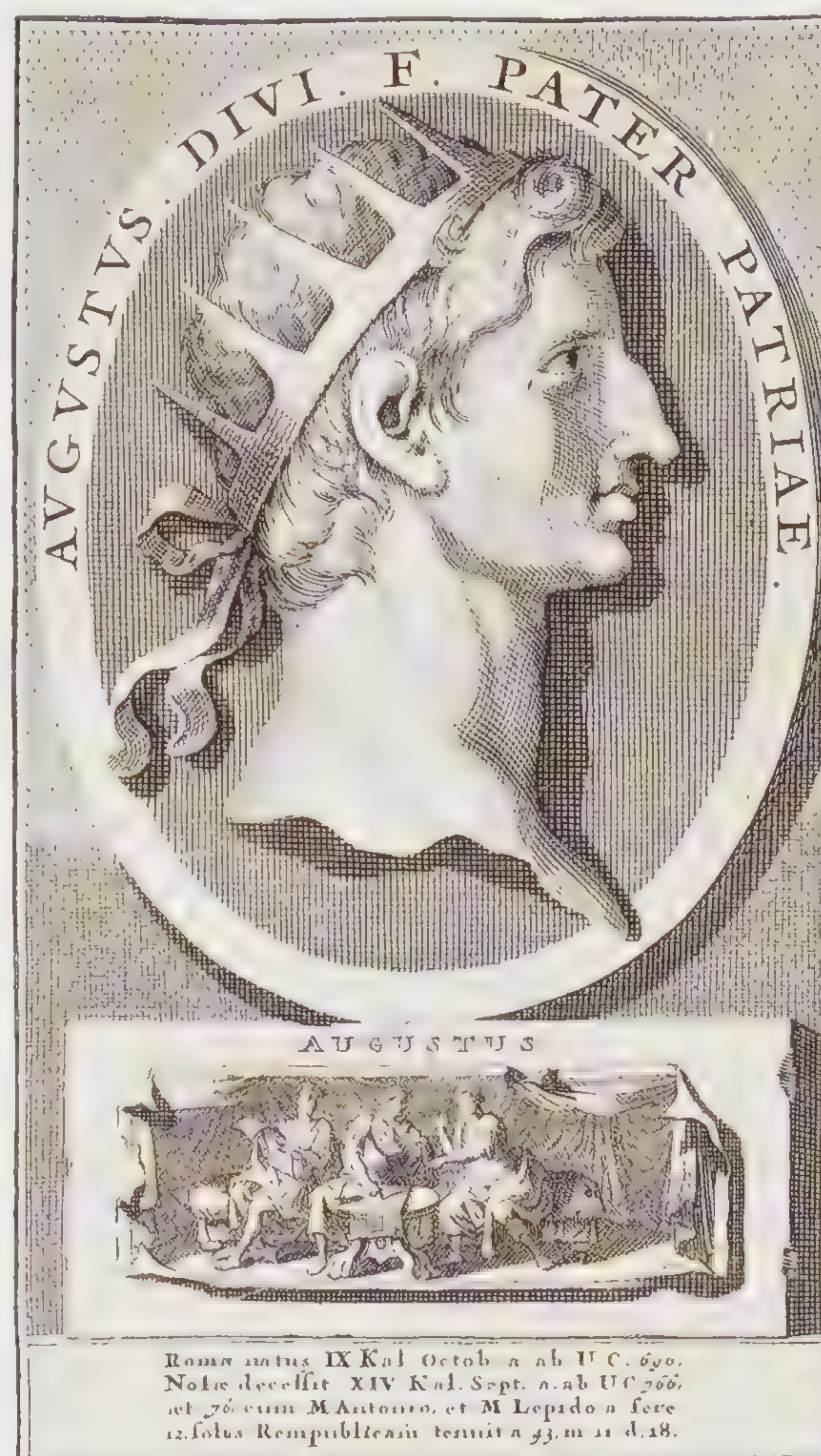
The thinking that lay behind the founding of the library – both the

conception of the idea by Caesar and its execution by Pollio – was not merely that it would promote Rome's development as a centre of learning to rival Athens, Pergamum and Alexandria, these being the places where nearly all the Roman *nobiles* had been to study: it was also considered essential to open a public library, as the number of literary men had increased, while the activities of the *grammatici* and the growth of private schools had made the Romans more aware of the importance of the written word.

The Caesars' first libraries. Augustus founded two libraries in Rome and one in Alexandria in his ambition to turn Rome into a monumental city worthy of her political and military power in the Mediterranean. In pursuit of his dream, not only did he redesign the area of the Palatine Hill (where he built the Temple of Apollo) and build the Temple of Jupiter Tonans ('the Thunderer') and the Forum Augustum with the Temple of Mars Ultor ('the Avenger') and the theatre that he dedicated to his nephew Marcellus: he also persuaded other prominent persons to beautify the city with monuments of such grandeur as they could afford.³¹ As Suetonius puts it, '[Augustus] found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble.' In another demonstration of his interest in architecture, Augustus funded Vitruvius for the writing of his book *De architectura*.³²

The first library founded by Augustus was built on the Palatine Hill and opened probably about ten years after the one built by Pollio. On the Palatine the Emperor carried out a large-scale construction programme, with the result that his palace was joined by other grandiose buildings erected entirely for show, interconnected by colonnades and probably integrated with the majestic Temple of Apollo, which was opened in 28 B.C.³³

We do not know the exact position of Augustus's bilingual library, which

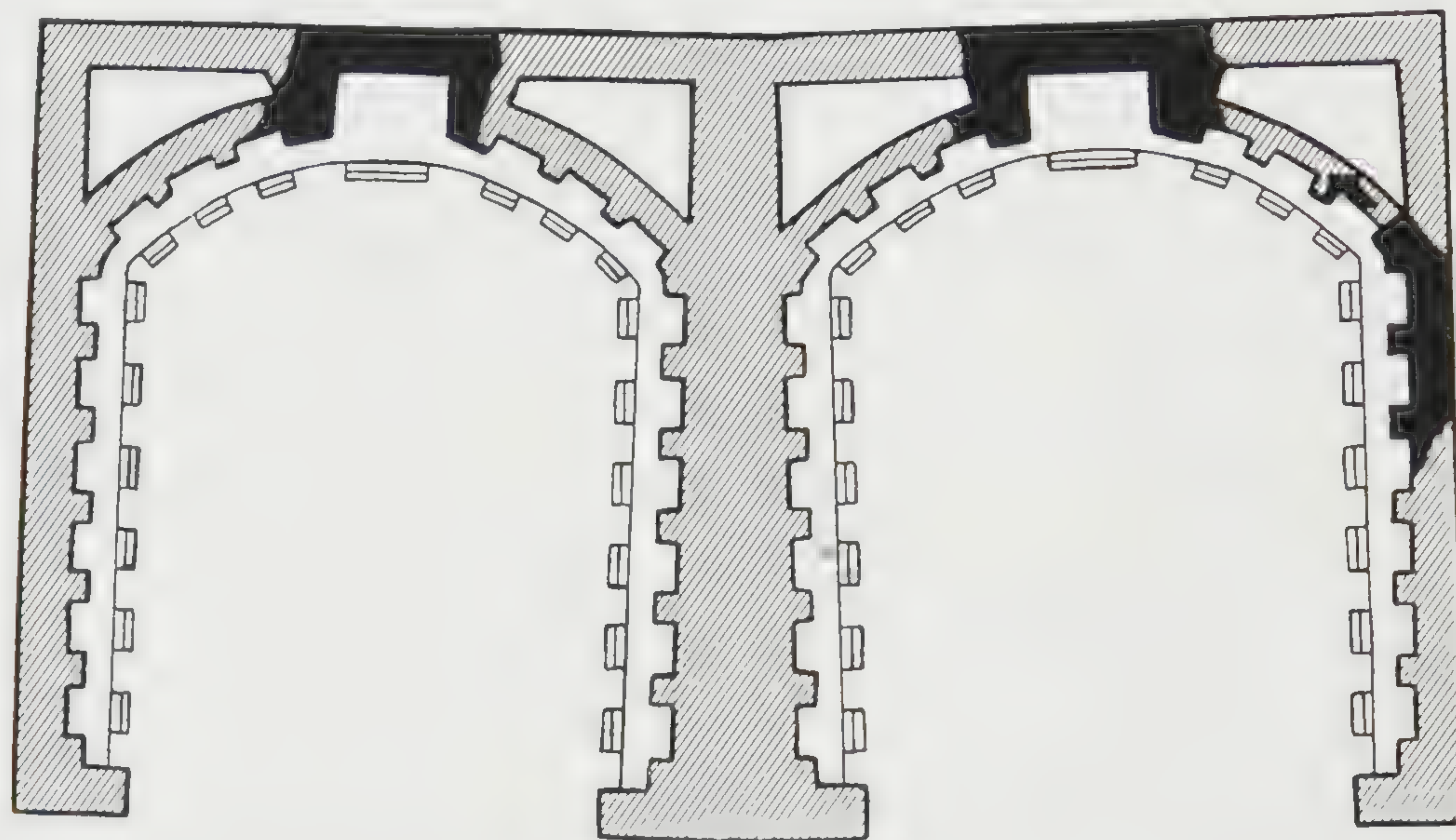


12. Augustus. Print from T. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*...

Augustus's
double library

was called the Palatine Library or the Library of Apollo. Nor is anything known about its architecture, as all the archaeological finds date from Domitian's reign and presumably come from the rebuilding of the library and Domitian's palace.³⁴ Carettoni maintains that Augustus's library lies buried under the earth fill deposited at the time of Domitian's alterations.³⁵

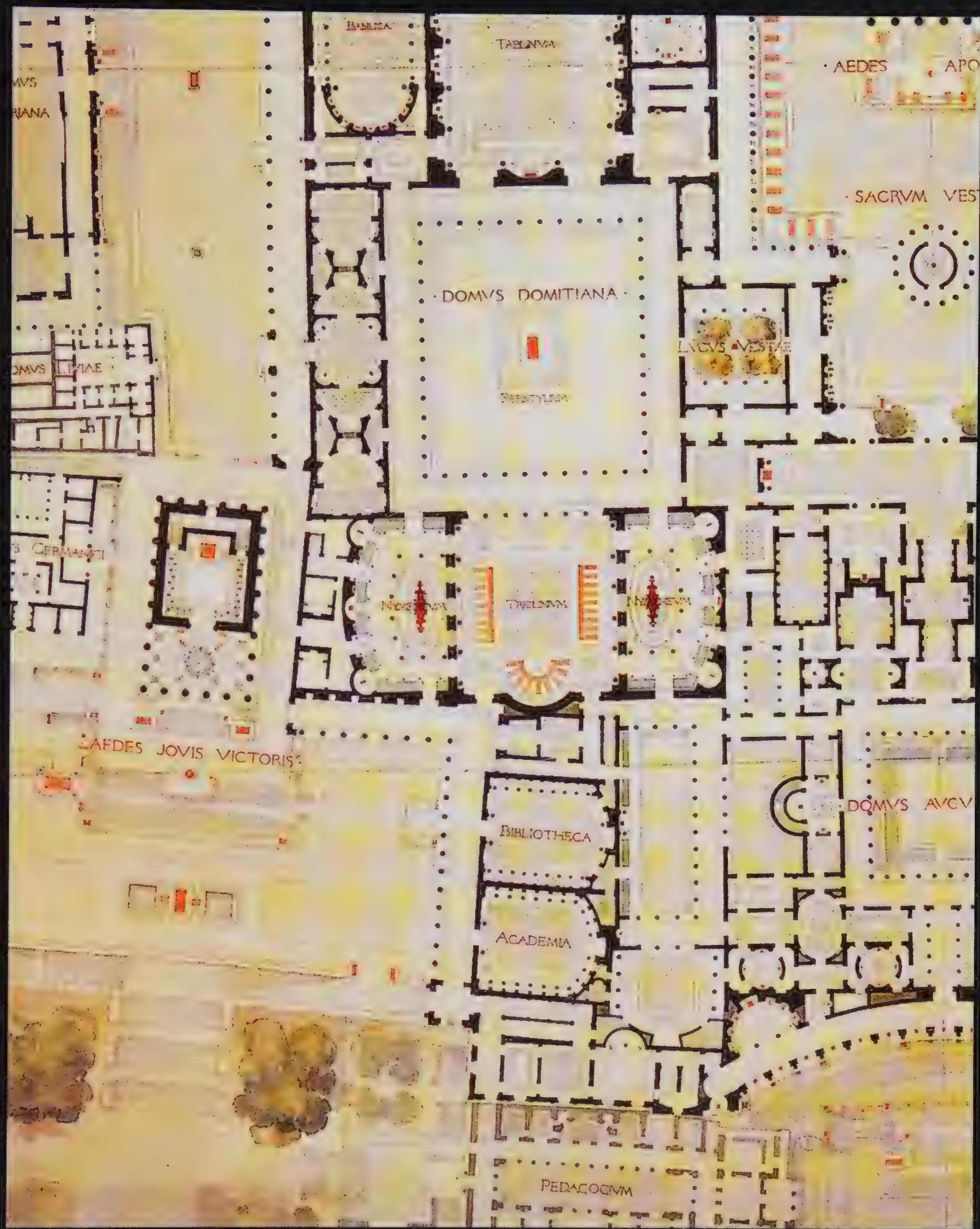
On a lost fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (a marble city plan of Rome made in the period of the Severi) this library is marked as two separate, identical, large rooms divided by a common wall, both facing the Temple of Apollo: one housed the Greek books, the other the Latin.³⁶ In the interior of each room



13. Plan of the Palatine Library. Drawing after C. Callmer, from *Antike Bibliotheken* (= *Opuscula Archaeologica*, III), Lund/Leipzig 1944, p. 158.

there was a central colonnade, probably supporting the gallery, with a niche containing a statue of a deity in the middle of the back wall: in the Greek section the deity was Minerva, in the Latin section probably Apollo (with the features of Augustus?), as we shall see in the chapter on library architecture.³⁷ Evidently the library and the Temple of Apollo were inseparably linked in Augustus's mind, considering that after 12 B.C., as we have seen, the Emperor interred two gilt caskets containing the Sibylline Books in the foundations of the temple.³⁸ Nothing is known about the library apart from the marking of its two rooms on the *Forma*, and there are very few surviving references either to

14. The twin libraries on the Palatine and their position in the imperial palace complex as it was in Domitian's reign, after a drawing by Henri-Adolphe Auguste Deglane, 'Palais des Césars', 1887, reproduced from R. Cassanelli, M. David, E. de Albentiis and A. Jacques, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, Los Angeles, J.P. Getty Museum, 2002.



CHAPTER IV

The Age of the Caesars

The head of the imperial library

the part it played in Roman literary life or to its librarians and the nature of their work. The official name of the bilingual library on the Palatine is known from funerary inscriptions: *Bybliotheca latina [templi] Apollinis* and *Bybliotheca graeca [templi] Apollinis*. Other funerary inscriptions record the names of imperial slaves who worked there, including Alexander and Antiochus, members of the staff of the Apollonian Library in Augustus's reign.³⁹

The first person appointed by Augustus to organize and run the library was Pompeius Macer, a man of Greek descent who was probably a son of Theophanes of Mytilene.⁴⁰ From a letter written by Augustus to Macer, in which he forbade the publication of various minor works by Julius Caesar such as the *Laudes Herculis* ('Praises of Hercules'),⁴¹ it may be conjectured that the Emperor was actively involved in the selection of books for the library from the outset, and that there was probably a panel of literary scholars and copyists responsible for the acquisition of new books under Macer's supervision. As to the status of the library – whether it was a public library in the proper sense of the term or was open only to a limited circle of persons in favour with Augustus – nothing definite is known. Suetonius tells us that in his old age Augustus often held meetings of the Senate in the library, and that the lists of jurors were revised there.⁴² In other words, the two rooms were used for scholarly work of various kinds, book copying, public discussions and readings and meetings of official bodies.

Some time after the library was opened we find Gaius Julius Hyginus mentioned as being 'in charge of the library',⁴³ though it is not known whether he actually succeeded Macer or whether a second librarian – a polymath with a broader range of knowledge than Macer – was needed to cope with the heavier workload of keeping the library in order and managing the greater influx of new accessions. Whatever the truth of the matter, Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus who came from Alexandria or Spain, became the keeper of the imperial library while continuing to work as a teacher, in which capacity he was supported by an unnamed patron. He was an intimate friend of Clodius Licinius and of Ovid (who dedicated to him the fourteenth poem in Book III of the *Tristia*), but Ovid subsequently turned angrily against him when his poems were banned from Roman libraries (*Trist.* III.1.59 ff.). The exiled poet hints that the ban was due not only to an imperial fiat but also to the librarian's refusal to have his works on the shelves.⁴⁴ Ovid's poems were also banned from the library in the Porticus Octaviae and Asinius Pollio's library in the Atrium Libertatis.

These two imperial libraries must have been stocked mainly with literary writings and works by contemporary poets: Horace tells us that this was so and mentions that copies of his own poems were there. It is Horace, too, who says that the Palatine Library was a haunt of self-styled 'poets' who copied verses by other writers and passed them off as their own.⁴⁵ This first imperial library survived until the reign of Nero or Titus, when the whole area of the Porticus Octaviae, including the library, was burnt down and rebuilt by the Emperor Domitian (A.D. 81-96).⁴⁶ To restore the library to its former glory, Domitian despatched a mission to Alexandria to make new copies of the lost books.⁴⁷ In A.D. 191, during Commodus's reign, the library was again badly ravaged by fire, and in 363 it was completely destroyed, together with the Temple of Apollo.⁴⁸

A second library was opened on the Palatine in Augustus's reign by the Emperor's sister, Octavia, in memory of her son Marcellus, who died in 23 B.C. According to Dio Cassius, the money required for its construction came out of the spoils from the Dalmatian campaign.⁴⁹ However, none of the sources can enlighten us about the reasons that prompted Octavia⁵⁰ to found a new bilingual library just a few years after her brother Augustus had opened his own double library. One can only suppose that Marcellus was a book-lover and had a sizable library of his own, or perhaps had inherited a good collection of books.⁵¹ Octavia's bilingual library occupied part of a square portico, or peristyle, surrounding the temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator. The portico was called the Porticus Octaviae.

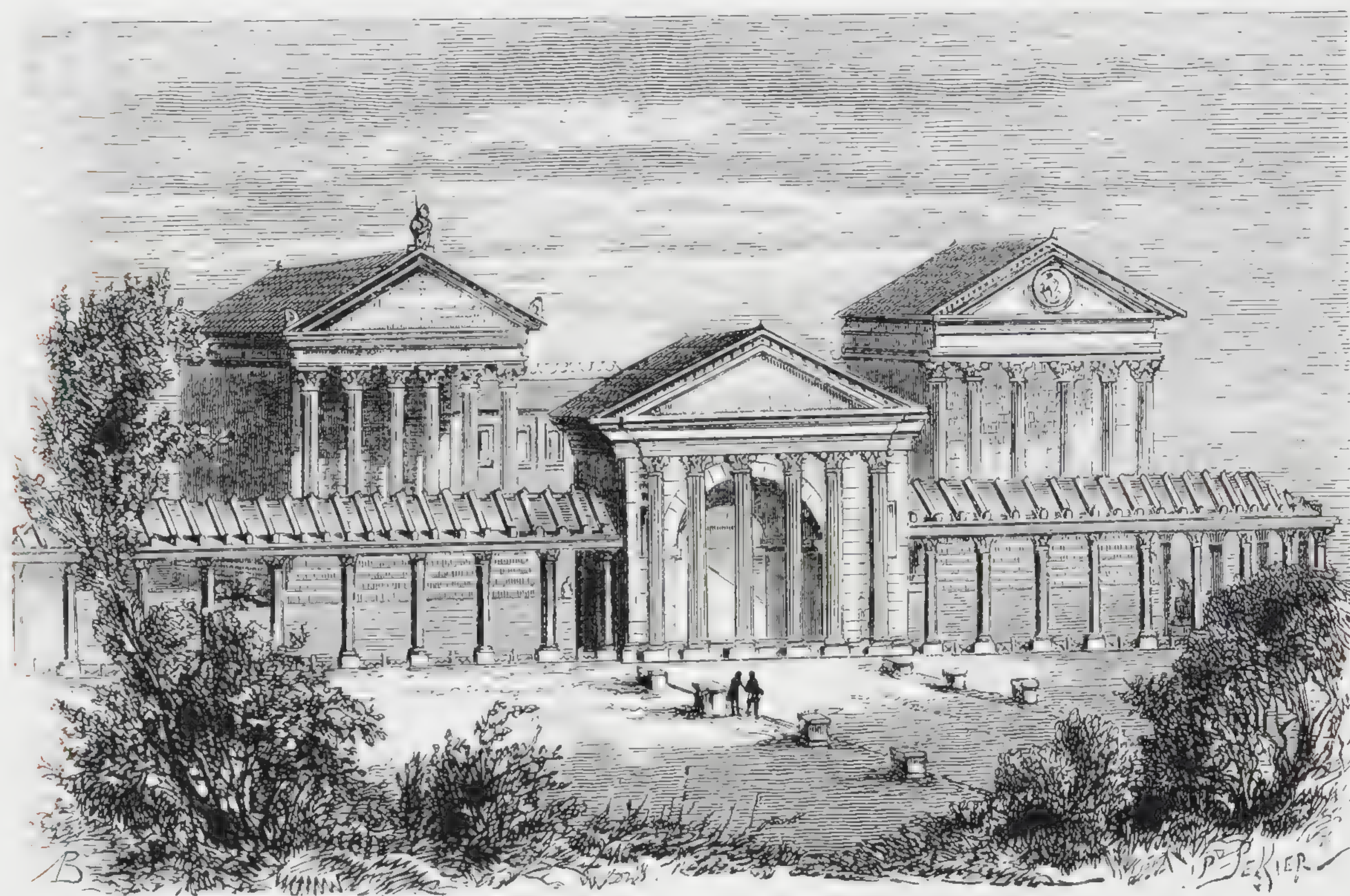
The exact position of the library and the architectural design of the buildings and portico are matters of conjecture. A fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* shows a semicircular recess between the two temples mentioned above: this may mark the bilingual library as it was in the age of the Severi.⁵² Pliny's allusion to the twofold use of the library as *Curia Octaviae* and as *Schola* – assuming that he is referring to the same building in both cases – may mean that the two rooms of the library served as a meeting-place (*curia*) and as a reading-room (*schola*). Be that as it may, the Porticus Octaviae was used at least once for a session of the Senate (which presumably met indoors, in the library),⁵³ thus serving the same purpose as the Palatine Library from some point onwards in Augustus's reign.⁵⁴

The keeper of this library, appointed by the Emperor himself, was the grammarian Gaius Melissus, a freedman and confidant of Maecenas. According to Suetonius, Melissus was a polymath who originated a new genre of drama

The library
in the Porticus
Octaviae

The head of the
library in the
Porticus Octaviae

and compiled numerous books containing the sayings and stories of famous men, as already mentioned.⁵⁵ Extant epitaphs record the names of slaves who had been on the staff of this library, and we know from the same sources that it had two separate and independent sections, one Greek and one Latin.⁵⁶ Octavia's library, too, survived until the reign of Nero or Titus: according to Dio Cassius,⁵⁷ it was destroyed by fire in A.D. 80, and it was probably restored in Domitian's reign to its original design.



15. *The Porticus Octaviae. Reconstruction drawing by Duban from V. Duruy, Histoire des Romains..., p. 557.*

In 12 B.C. Augustus, wishing to remind the people of Egypt and visitors to Alexandria that the land of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies was now a province of the Roman Empire, built a new Temple of Divus Julius (Julius the God) with a bilingual library next to it. The temple, which came to be known as the Sebasteion or Sebasteum (from *Sebastos*, the Greek rendering of *Augustus*, the title given to the Roman emperors), stood in a magnificent precinct on a hill, surrounded by peristyle courtyards and adorned with statuary and other works of art,⁵⁸ and was perhaps intended to replace the public library of the Serapeum and the Museum library in accordance with the new cultural policy. The ultimate objective of this move was to erase from public memory the symbolic status of the Alexandrian Library as the intellectual centre of Mediter-

anean civilization. It is likely that thousands of papyrus rolls were moved to the new library, and in the course of time, as the enforcement of the library rules became more lax, many rare copies may have found their way into the hands of booksellers.⁵⁹

Tiberius's library. The restrictions and persecutions suffered by some writers in Augustus's reign continued under Tiberius and in fact became more severe: with the new emperor pursuing a more interventionist policy, a sort of imperial 'dictatorship' over literature was instituted. Tiberius was a great admirer of Greek literature and Greek style, he was taught rhetoric by the celebrated teacher Theodore of Gadara, he wrote a number of works in Greek and one of his closest confidants was the astrologer Thrasyllus of Alexandria, who interpreted his dreams. But his overbearing arrogance showed itself again and again, often in matters ostensibly connected with literature. He passed the death sentence on two minor poets, Aelius Saturninus and Sextius Paconianus, on the grounds that they had attacked him in their poems.⁶⁰ He indicted Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus on a charge of having written some offensive lines about Agamemnon in one of his plays, the implication being (according to Tiberius) that 'Agamemnon' is to be understood as the Emperor himself. As a result of this or other charges, Scaurus was eventually driven to commit suicide to forestall his inevitable conviction.⁶¹ And the historian Cremutius Cordus chose to starve himself to death when the Emperor, angered by his chronicle of the civil wars in which he called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans, gave orders for all his writings to be publicly burnt.⁶²

*Tiberius
and writers*

Tiberius read books every day and, when dining, was in the habit of asking his fellow-diners questions to which he already knew the answers. When he was told by his attendants that the grammarian Seleucus was asking them which authors the Emperor was reading, so that he could be prepared for the questions in advance, Tiberius at first banished the offender from his society and later forced him to commit suicide.⁶³ Irascible as he was, and suspicious by nature, in A.D. 23 he banished actors from Rome, having banished astrologers six years earlier.⁶⁴ His private rooms were lavishly decorated with lascivious pictures and sculptures, and he also had books by Elephantis.⁶⁵ Tiberius wrote in Latin and also in Greek, in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius; and by doing so he started something of a fashion among educated Romans, who vied with one another in writing commentaries on as many as possible of those authors' works in the hope of winning favour with the Emperor.⁶⁶

In this climate of imperial 'sensitivity' to contemporary and earlier literature, every Roman emperor used his private library as a policy instrument, seeking to exercise a measure of control over writers' aspirations to lasting fame by deciding whether or not their works should be stocked in the imperial libraries. Tiberius founded a new imperial library near the temple he built in



16. Tiberius. Print from T. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*...

honour of the deified Augustus, referred to as the Library of the Temple of Augustus (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv.43: *bibliotheca templi Augusti*)⁶⁷ or the Library of the New Temple (*bibliotheca templi novi*). This temple, consecrated by Tiberius's successor, Caligula,⁶⁸ was situated south of the Basilica Julia in the Forum Romanum. It was burnt down in A.D. 79⁶⁹ and rebuilt by Domitian.⁷⁰ Nothing is known about Tiberius's library: only Suetonius records that the Apollo of Temenos, a statue of remarkable size and beauty which Tiberius had brought from Syracuse to be set up in the library of the new temple, appeared to him in a dream near the end of his life.⁷¹

Another library is alleged to have been built by Tiberius on the Palatine: it is first mentioned by Gellius, who calls it *bibliotheca domus Tiberianae*,⁷² and subsequently by Marcus Aurelius⁷³ and Flavius Vopiscus,⁷⁴ who wrote biographies of several Roman emperors. Gellius states that one day he was having a conversation there with some friends of his when the talk came round to a book by one Marcus Cato Nepos, a name that was unfamiliar to them.⁷⁵ That library, the *bibliotheca domus Tiberianae*, may well have been the room where Tiberius did his daily reading of books which gave him material for the questions he put to his fellow-diners in the evening.

Caligula, who succeeded Tiberius, pursued a similar policy and was in the habit of deciding on impulse that the works of this or that contemporary or old author were to be expunged from public memory and banished from the shelves of the imperial libraries, or else that they were equally suddenly to be

restored to favour. For example, he gave orders that the writings of Titus Labienus, Cremutius Cordus and Cassius Severus – which, as we have seen, had been suppressed by Augustus – were to be ‘hunted up, circulated and read, saying that it was wholly to his interest that everything which happened be handed down to posterity’.⁷⁶ On another occasion he ordered a writer of Atellan farces to be burnt alive in the middle of the arena because of an ambiguous line he had written.⁷⁷ And once, in a rage, he even thought of destroying the poems of Homer, arguing that this was what Plato had meant when he excluded Homer from his ideal ‘republic’.⁷⁸ Nor were Virgil and Livy safe from attack, for he came close to removing their writings and busts from the libraries, calling them ‘untalented’ and ‘verbose’.⁷⁹ He is also said to have banished Carrinas Secundus, a rhetorician of the first century A.D., for delivering a *declamatio* against tyrants, with the result that Secundus subsequently committed suicide in Athens, where he was living in exile.⁸⁰

Public readings (*recitationes*). On reading Cicero’s correspondence with Atticus, the impression one receives of the book production and distribution process is one of élitism and privilege, but that was not the norm in Roman intellectual life in the last decades of the Republic. An exception that proves the rule is the case of Varro, who retired into self-imposed exile in his luxurious villas, where he buried himself in his books and wrote encyclopaedias and other voluminous works without taking the slightest interest in promoting their circulation or in the profit he might be able to derive from them. The fact is that most poets, and men of letters generally, came from the provinces and were totally dependent on the patronage of a person of means if they were to subsist on writing poetry or other literary works.⁸¹ Of course, patronage was not something new that first appeared in the time of Augustus, Maecenas and Messalla: as we have seen, back in the days of Livius Andronicus and Ennius we find poets and



17. Caligula. Print from T. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*...

writers being supported by aristocrats such as Livius Salinator, Cato the Elder, Scipio Africanus, Scipio Nasica and Fulvius Nobilior, among many others.⁸² But in the early years of the Augustan Age the drive for ascendancy of a new social class nurtured a literary output that could be construed as a product of political propaganda. One of the first steps – the most crucial step – that a writer had to take in order to be taken up by a patron, or admitted into a literary circle, was to arrange a public reading (*recitatio*).

Public or semi-public readings (*recitationes*) of new works may fairly be described as pre-publication ‘publicity stunts’. According to Seneca the Elder,⁸³ the practice was introduced by Asinius Pollio, though we cannot be sure of his real motive for doing so: whether it was the personal vanity of a politician ‘compelled’ to retire from political life, an expression of the imperial will for the control of literary output or a genuine desire for the wider dissemination of poetry and prose. Whichever conclusion we come to, we should not forget that it was Pollio who set up the first public library in Rome and, by doing so, broadened the horizons of Roman intellectuals. Suetonius, disagreeing with Seneca, states that a grammarian of the Augustan Age, Q. Caecilius Epirota, was the first to hold extempore discussions in Latin and initiated the practice of reading Virgil and other recent poets, a fact also alluded to by Domitius Marsus in the verse: ‘Epirota, fond nurse of fledgling bards’.⁸⁴ The chief beneficiaries of public readings,⁸⁵ whether to large audiences or small private groups, were writers in two categories: those who wished to make their books better by listening to constructive criticism and those whose aim it was to please and impress the public.

The former, for the most part, were members of literary coteries who were in the habit of submitting whole books or parts of books to the test of criticism before they were published. This literary procedure was nothing new, of course: its origins went at least as far back as the Hellenistic Alexandrian school, as attested by the epigrams of Callimachus and Asclepiades. In Rome itself there is evidence of similar readings taking place among the so-called Scipionic circle in the mid second century B.C., and at the symposia given by Atticus in the early decades of the first century B.C. at the villa built by Tamphilus. But it is with Catullus that we find the first explicit references to a fully-developed literary circle whose members adopted Callimachus’s dogmatic approach to poetry.⁸⁶ Virgil, for example, was made to read excerpts from the *Aeneid* to Augustus and members of his family, and from time to time he read various passages to other people in the hope of being able to make the verses more

polished with the benefit of criticism.⁸⁷ And Horace, as we have seen, heartily advised writers hoping to be published to show their work to competent critics first, to re-read and revise it after nine years, and only then to publish it.⁸⁸

On the other hand, there were many aspiring writers who did all they could to make an impact on the Roman reading public and hoped to lend weight to their writings by reading excerpts to large audiences that included civic dignitaries, and sometimes even the Emperor himself. Augustus gave writers every possible support, sitting patiently through the readings from their work,⁸⁹ and it is on record that Claudius once paid an unscheduled visit to a *recitatio* by Nonianus, attracted by the cheering of the listeners applauding his talent.⁹⁰ Because Tiberius was known to like the poems of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius, some writers wrote 'programmatic literature' in the hope of winning the Emperor's favour.⁹¹ Lastly, Horace informs us that many writers used to read out their work in public in the Forum and the baths, but he himself would never presume to follow their example and recite his poems to the world at large in theatres. He continues ironically, 'I am not one who, listening to "noble writers" and taking my revenge, deign to court the tribes of lecturing professors. "Hence those tears." ... I am ashamed to recite my worthless writings in your crowded halls, and give undue weight to trifles.'⁹²

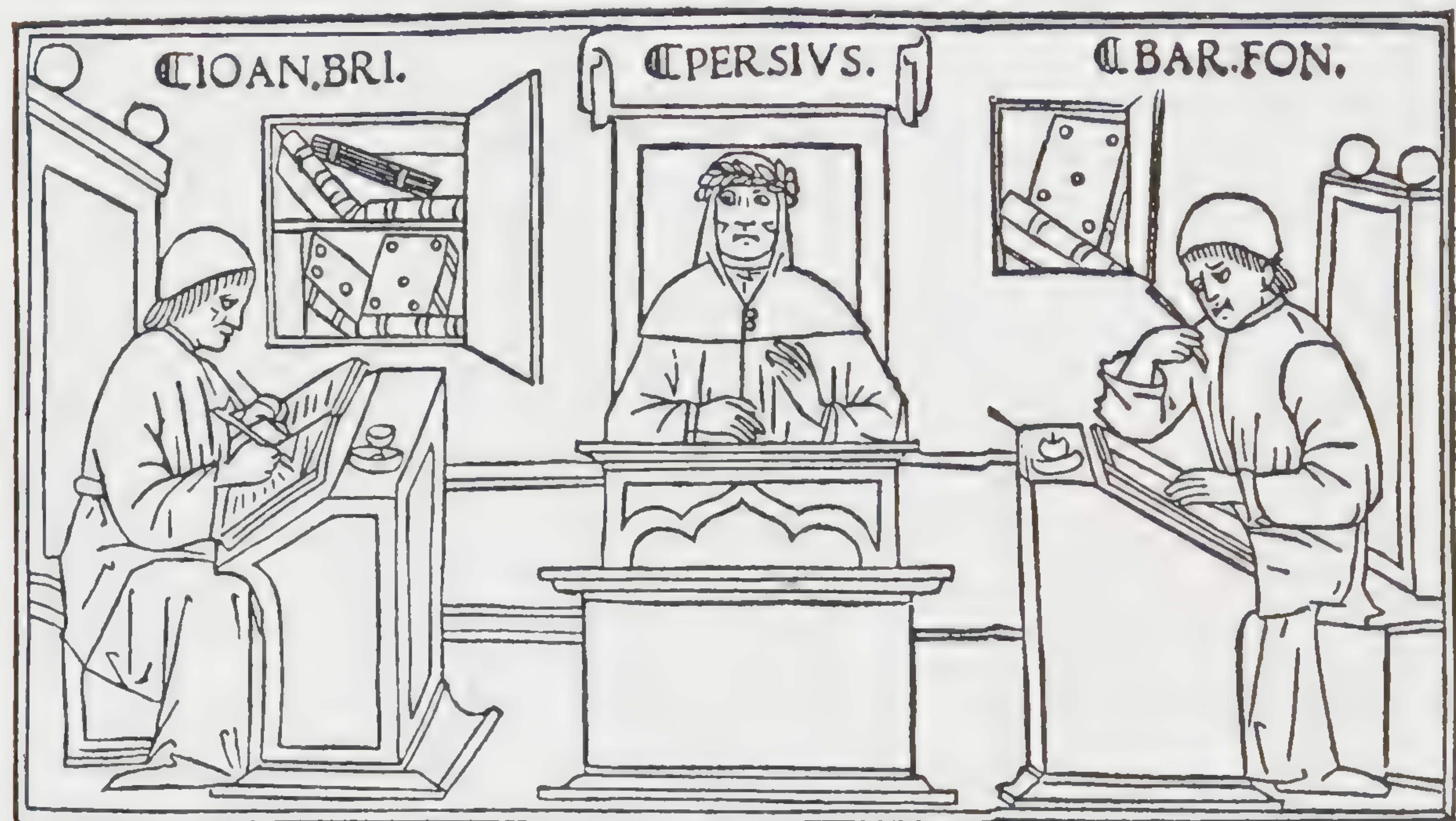
Under these conditions, the practice of *recitatio* had a great influence on the way literature was written. The result was what might be called 'programmatic literature', inasmuch as the writer's paramount concern was to please his public. He wanted his book to be praised, not criticized, and he



18. Virgil writing under the guidance of his Muse. Engraving from the frontispiece of M.P. Virgilius, Opera, Johann Grüninger, 1502.

tried to stun his audience with rhetorical tricks. Cestius gives a vivid summary of this kind of literature: 'Much of what I say is said not because it pleases me, but because I know it will please those who hear me.'⁹³ But if we want an accurate picture of the *recitatio* on the public scene in Rome, we need look no further than the first of Persius's *Satires*.

Aulus Persius Flaccus (A.D. 34-62), who came from Etruria and studied in Rome with the grammarian Remmius Palaemon, embraced the ideas of the Stoic



19. Persius among his commentators. Woodcut from *F. Persius, Satirae, Venezia, Johannes Tacuinus*. 1494.

philosopher Annaeus Cornutus and was much read by poets, rhetoricians and men of letters.⁹⁴ Lucan was a great admirer of his writings: when Persius gave public readings, Lucan could hardly restrain his enthusiasm until the end of the poem before declaring how good it was.⁹⁵ Persius lived in Nero's reign and died when he was barely twenty-eight years old, whereupon his teacher Cornutus and the poet Caesius Bassus published his unfinished *Satires*.⁹⁶ He must have had a large library, considering that in his will he left Cornutus a substantial sum of money and also about seven hundred books by Chrysippus, 'that is, his entire library'.⁹⁷ A book containing one of Persius's early poems and some of his history and travel writings (which Cornutus had advised the poet's mother to destroy) was much admired and sold rapidly as soon as it appeared.⁹⁸

Persius pokes fun at the clichés of poetical inspiration: he himself, he says, has never drunk from the Hippocrene spring nor ever had a dream on Mount

Parnassus, yet he considers himself a *poeta* and can give the world a *carmen*. In his first satire he exposes the corrupt trends prevailing in Roman literature: poets become popular without having a proper education; their perorations are opportunistic displays of exhibitionism and self-advertisement primarily intended to win plaudits for themselves; and their works are deplorable for several reasons. The lines that follow are typical of him:

On your birthday you will at last read this from a public platform, with your hair carefully combed, wearing your new white toga. A gemstone gleams on your finger, you tune up your well-modulated voice with another preparatory song and close your eyes in ecstasy. And then, oh, what a spectacle! The strong sons of Rome, quite flustered, lose control of their voices and movements as the thrilling suspense creeps into the loins and tickles the inward parts.

*Persius on Roman
exhibitionism*

Persius is not worried that he might be offending public feeling by proclaiming the Romans' degenerate taste, as he says himself that his writings will be read only by a few perceptive readers: the vulgar will find their amusement elsewhere.

The often scathing opinions expressed by Horace and Persius about people who used books as a medium for advertising their own intellectual abilities could easily lead to misapprehensions, if they are taken as a general truth. It therefore seems appropriate to conclude this chapter by focusing on the part played by a private book collection, as well as public and private libraries, in the writing of one of the longest works of Roman literature: the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder.

Pliny, who was born in A.D. 23/24 and met his death by pursuing his passion for scientific research during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, bequeathed to his nephew, Pliny the Younger, a corpus of writings and a collection of passages from other authors which he had copied out from the books he had read, running to a total of 160 papyrus rolls closely written on both sides. The sources from which he drew his material are known, because – in a break with the normal practice of Roman writers – in Book I of the *Natural History* he gives a list of more than four hundred authors, of whom 146 were Roman. Like Lucilius, he wanted his work to be read not so much by the highly-educated as by the general public, because what he was basically trying to do was to bequeath to the Roman people an extremely demanding piece of work: he was the first writer to describe the whole of the natural world, including mankind, in Latin. It is worth quoting here a letter from Pliny the Younger

to Baebius Macer which sets out the whole working philosophy of the author of the *Natural History* and his insatiable thirst for knowledge on every subject:

Gaius Plinius to his dear friend Baebius Macer, greetings.

I was delighted to find that you are so zealous a student of my uncle's books that you would like to possess copies of them all, and that you ask me to give you a complete list of them. I will play the part of an index for you, and tell you, moreover, the order in which they were written, for this is a point that students are interested to know....

Does it surprise you that a busy man found time to finish so many volumes, many of which deal with such minute details? You will wonder the more when I tell you that for many years he pleaded in the law courts, that he died in his fifty-seventh year, and that in the interval his time was taken up and his studies were hindered by the important offices he held and the duties arising out of his friendship with the Emperors. But he possessed a keen intellect; he had a marvellous capacity for work, and his powers of application were enormous. He used to begin to study at night on the Festival of Vulcan, not for luck but from his love of study, long before dawn; in winter he would commence at the seventh hour or at the eighth at the very latest, and often at the sixth. He could sleep at call, and it would come upon him and leave him in the middle of his work.

... Often he would have a book read aloud, from which he would take notes and extracts. For he never read without taking extracts, and used to say that there never was a book so bad that it was not good in some passage or another....

When he was travelling he cut himself aloof from every other thought and gave himself up to study alone. At his side he kept a shorthand writer with a book and tablets, who wore mittens on his hands in winter, so that not even the sharpness of the weather should rob him of a moment, and for the same reason, when in Rome, he used to be carried in a litter. I remember that once he rebuked me for walking, saying, 'If you were a student, you could not waste your hours like that,' for he considered that all time was wasted which was not devoted to study.

Such was the application which enabled him to compile all those volumes I have enumerated, and he left me one hundred and sixty

commonplace books, written on both sides of the scrolls, and in a very small handwriting, which really makes the number of the volumes considerably more. He used to say that when he was procurator in Spain he could have sold these commonplace books to Largius Licinus for four hundred thousand sester tia, and at that time they were much fewer in number.

Do you not feel, when you think of his voluminous writing and reading, that he cannot have had any public duties to attend to, and that he cannot have been an intimate friend of the Emperors? Again, when you hear what an amount of work he put into his studies, does it not seem that he neither wrote nor read as much as he might? For his other duties might surely have prevented him from studying altogether, and a man with his application might have accomplished even more than he did. So I often smile when some of my friends call me a book-worm, for if I compare myself with him I am but a shocking idler. Yet am I quite as bad as that, considering the way I am distracted by my public and private duties? Who is there of all those who devote their whole life to literature, who, if compared with him, would not blush for himself as a sleepy-head and a lazy fellow?

I have let my pen run on, though I had intended simply to answer your question and give you a list of my uncle's works; but I trust that even my letter may give you as much pleasure as his books, and that it will spur you on not only to read them, but also to compose something worthy to be compared with them. Farewell.⁹⁹

NOTES

IV

The Age of the Caesars

NOTES

1. See esp. D. Kienast, *Augustus. Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt, 1982; Erica Simon, *Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende*, Munich, 1986; Ines Stahlmann, *Imperator Caesar Augustus*, Darmstadt, 1988.
2. Suet., *Div. Aug.* LXXXIX. On his relations with the Greeks see G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965.
 When the young Augustus (or Octavian, as he then was) left Rome and went to live at Apollonia in Illyricum, he took Apollodorus with him. Arius Didymus of Alexandria, a friend of Maecenas, apparently succeeded Apollodorus as the future emperor's teacher, with assistance from his two sons, Dionysius and Nicenor.
3. Lucius Varius Rufus, a contemporary of Virgil and Horace, also wrote a tragedy entitled *Thyestes*, which was produced in 29 B.C. at the festivities commemorating Augustus's victory at Actium. With Tucca he edited Virgil's *Aeneid* on Augustus's orders. See also p. 120 herein.
4. On Maecenas see esp. Jean-Marie André, *Mécène. Essai de biographie spirituelle*, Paris, 1967; and on his relations with the poets see A. Dalzell, 'Maecenas and the Poets', *Phoenix* 10 (1956) 151-162.
5. Hor., *Sat.* 1.10.78-92. Cf. Martial, VIII.55.5.
 Archaeologists have discovered and excavated the 'Sabine farm' that Horace was given by Maecenas: see G. Lugli, *Horace's Sabine Farm*, Rome, 1930; M. L. Veloccia Rinaldi (ed.), *In Sabinis: Architettura e arredi della villa di Orazio*, Rome, 1993.
6. Suet., *Div. Aug.* XXXI.
7. Dio Cassius, LIV.17.2. See esp. H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, London/New York, 1988, 190-215. Nothing remains of those books, which were guarded by a special order of priests, because they were destroyed by the Vandal general, Stilicho.
8. On the Temple of Apollo and Scopas's statue of the god playing the lyre, see Propertius, II.31.5-6; H. Last, 'The Tabula Hebana and Propertius II.31', *JRS* 43 (1953) 27-29. On the fragments of marble discovered in the most recent excavations see G. Carettoni, 'I problemi della zona Augustea del Palatino alla luce dei recenti scavi', *RPAA* 39 (1966-1967) 73-74.
9. On the cult statue see Propertius, II.31.15-16; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI.25; G. E. Rizzo, 'Le Base di Augusto', *Bull. Comm.* 60 (1932) 51-66; A. F. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros*, Park Ridge, N. J., 1977, 93-94, 141-142.
10. See esp. W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, Oxford, 1891 (repr. 1924); J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry*, Brussels, 1967; E. Doblhofer, 'Horaz und Augustus', *ANRW* II.31.3 (1981) 1922-1982; V. Pöschke, 'Vergil und Augustus', *ANRW* II.31.2 (1981) 709-727; K. Quinn, 'The Poet and his Audience in the Augustan Age', *ANRW* II.30.1 (1982) 75-180.
11. See Rose, *Ἱστορία*, I, 235-260; W. V. Clausen, «Θεόκριτος καὶ Βιργίλιος», in Kenney and Clausen, *Ἱστορία*, 411-500; Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 759-804.
12. Suet., *De vita Vergili*, 31.
13. *Ibid.* 37-41.

14. *Ibid.* 34. The Eros in question may perhaps have been Staberius Eros, who was purchased with his own savings at a public sale of slaves and manumitted because of his devotion to literature. He worked as a teacher and his pupils included Brutus and Cassius: see Suet., *De gram.* XIII. As far as I know, the only other namesake of Virgil's librarian living in Rome at that time (if indeed he was a different man) was a slave of Philotimus, the freedman of Cicero's wife Terentia, whom Cicero trusted implicitly. He is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters (*Ad Att.* X.15) written in 49 B.C., when Virgil was twenty-one.
15. Suet., *De vita Vergili*, 45-46. Asconius, who lived probably from 9 B.C. to A.D. 76, was a prolific writer who was a critic of Cicero's speeches as well as Virgil's poems. He is said to have based his notes and studies on sources in the state archives and imperial libraries.
16. See Rose, *Ἱστορία*, I, 270-292; N. Rudd, «Ὁράτιος», in Kenney and Clausen, *Ἱστορία*, 501-543; Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 810-844.
17. Suet., *De vita Horati*.
18. See Rose, *Ἱστορία*, II, 35-51; E. J. Kenney, «Ὁβίδιος», in Kenney and Clausen, *Ἱστορία*, 563-612; Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 897-940.
19. See p. 175, n. 104.
20. See Kenney, «Ὁβίδιος», 593.
21. Suet., *Div. Jul.* XLIV.2. See also p. 65 herein.
22. See J. André, *La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion*, Paris 1949; G. Zecchini, 'Asinio Pollione: Dall'attività politica alla riflessione storiografica', *ANRW* II.30.2 (1982) 1265-1296.
23. On *recitationes* see pp. 141-144.
24. Timagenes, a historian and orator, was taken to Rome as a prisoner of war in 55 B.C. and manumitted by Faustus Sulla, the son of Lucius Cornelius Sulla. He is said to have written 'many books', and he was celebrated for his rhetorical skills. See Bowersock, *Augustus*, 109; N. Petrocheilos, *Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Ἑλληνισμός. Μιὰ διαλεκτική σχέση*, Athens, 1984, 107, n. 1.
25. On the Atrium Libertatis see F. W. Shipley, 'Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus', *MAAR* 9 (1931) 19; F. Castagnoli, 'Atrium Libertatis', *RAL*, ser. 8, 1 (1946) 276-291; A. B. Bosworth, 'Asinius Pollio and Augustus', *Historia* 21 (1972) 462-473; F. Coarelli, 'Augusto e Asinio Pollio', *Roma Sepolta*, Roma, 1984, 130-136.
26. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII.30.115; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VI.5.2.
On the first public libraries in Rome, see: J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books: An essay on the development of libraries and their fittings from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century*, Cambridge, 1901, 12-14; C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*, Chicago, 1915, 5-17; J. Tønnsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker: Romerriget i det 2. arhundrede e Chr.*, Copenhagen, 1976, 17-39; V. M. Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', *Gymnasium* 88 (1981) 307-310; R. Fehrle, *Das Bibliothekswesen im alten Rom: Voraussetzungen, Bedingungen, Anfänge*, Wiesbaden, 1986; T. K. Dix, *Private and Public Libraries at Rome in the First Century B.C.: A preliminary study in the history of Roman libraries* (doctoral dissertation [1986]), UMI, 1999, 191-249; H. Blanck, *Τὸ βιβλίον στὴν ἀρχαιότητα* (= *Das Buch in der Antike*, tr. D. G. Georgovasilis and M. Pfreimter), Athens, 1994; K. Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600)* (= *Βιβλιοθήκη. Ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα ἕως*

- τὴν Ἀναγέννηση (3000 π.Χ. - 1600 μ.Χ.), tr. T. Cullen), New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press/London: The British Library, 2000, 111-112; Lilian Balensiefen, 'Die Macht des Literatur. Über die Büchersammlung des Augustus auf dem Palatin', in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Antike Bibliotheken*, Mainz, 2002, 97-116.
27. See p. 65.
28. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii.30.115.
29. See P. Gros, *L'Architecture romaine*. 1. *Les monuments publics*, Paris, 2002², 212-214. More specifically on the evolution of the Forum under the Republic, see C. F. Giuliani and Patrizia Verduchi, *Foro Romano. L'area centrale*, Florence, 1980; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano 2. Periodo repubblicano e augusteo*, Roma, 1985, 212-324.
30. See E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, 172-185.
31. Suet., *Div. Aug.* xxix.4-5.
32. *Ibid.* xxviii.3.
- Vitruvius (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio[?]) worked as an engineer and architect under Julius Caesar and Augustus and in old age wrote *De architectura*, which he dedicated to Augustus. The book was published in about 25 B.C. and is the only extant book on architecture written in antiquity. In Book VII he lists his Greek sources: Hermogenes of Alabanda, Arcesius, Ctesibius, Pytheos, Diades and others.
- Evidently his encyclopaedic interests and existentialist preoccupations were satisfied by the books that must have been made available to him by the Emperor and his sister Octavia. In Book II of *De architectura*, for example, he recommends that any architect who uses bricks and wishes to understand how building materials behave should read the Presocratic philosophers.
33. See G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin*, Mainz, 1983; M. Royo, *Domus imperatoriae. Topographie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin (IIe siècle av. J.-C. - Ier siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rome, 1999, 168-171.
34. See G. Hentzen, 'Scavi palatini', *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1862), 228; G. de Gregori, 'Biblioteche d'Antichità', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 11 (1937) 13-15.
35. G. Carettoni, 'Le costruzioni di Augusto e il Tempio di Apollo sul Palatino', *Quaderni del Centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica* 1 (1978) 72-74.
36. Suet., *Div. Aug.* xxix.3: 'To this temple he added colonnades with Latin and Greek libraries.' Dio Cassius, liii.1: 'He completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries.' On the *Forma Urbis Romae* see H. Kiepert and C. Huelsen, *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*, Berlin, 1912²; G. Carettoni, A. M. Colini, L. Cozza and G. Gatti, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1960; E. Rodriguez-Almeida, *Forma Urbis Marmorea. Aggiornamento generale*, Rome, 1981.
37. See Boyd, *Public Libraries*, 5-8; F. Castagnoli, 'Sulla biblioteca del tempio di Apollo Palatino', *RAL*, ser. 8, 4 (1949) 380-382; Dix, *Private and Public Libraries*, 203-208; Lilian Balensiefen, 'Die öffentliche Bibliotheca Palatina oder Apollo-Bibliothek', in Hoepfner, *Antike Bibliotheken*, 102-105. On the topography and architecture see p. 344 herein.
38. See p. 122.
39. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 5188, 5189, 5191; in particular, see p. 362 herein. See generally L. Halkin, *Les esclaves publics chez les Romains*, Brussels, 1897 (repr. Rome, 1965).
40. Suet., *Div. Jul.* lvi.7.

41. *Ibid.*
42. Suet., *Div. Aug.* XXIX.3.
43. Suet., *De gram.* XX.
44. See p. 131.
45. Hor., *Epist.* II.1.214-218, I.3.15-20, I.3.15 ff.
46. Suet., *Domitianus* XX. Dio Cassius, LXVI.24: 'A second conflagration ... consumed ... the Octavian buildings together with their books.'
47. Suet., *Domitianus* XX.
48. Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* VII (C. G. Kühn, ed., vol. 13, p. 362): "Ἦδη μοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγγέγραπτο πραγματεία, δυοῖν μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν πρώτων βιβλίων ἐκδοθέντων, ἐγκαταλειφθέντων δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἀποθήκη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἥνικα τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ὅλον ἐκαύθη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον αἱ μεγάλαι βιβλιοθήκαι. τῆνικαῦτα γὰρ ἐτέρων τε πολλῶν ἀπώλοντο βιβλία καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἀποθήκην ἐκείνην ἔκειτο, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων ἔχειν ὁμολογοῦντος ἀντίγραφα τῶν πρώτων δυοῖν. Ἐγκειμένων οὖν τῶν ἐταίρων αὐθὶς με γράψαι τὴν αὐτὴν πραγματείαν, ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξέ μοι δηλῶσαι περὶ τῶν προεκδοθέντων, ὅπως μὴ τις προεντυχὼν αὐτοῖς ποτε ζητοίῃ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ δῖς με περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγματεύσασθαι. Κατ' ἐκείνα μὲν οὖν ἐποιησάμην τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστικῶς ἀναιροῦντας, ὡς οἶόν τε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν συνθέντων φαρμάκων... See also Amm. Marc., XXIII.3.3).
49. Suet., *De gram.* XXI; Plut., *Marcellus* XXX. On the funding of the library, Dio Cassius, XLIX.43.8: 'And after the Dalmatians had been utterly subjugated, he erected from the spoils thus gained the porticos and the libraries called the Octavian, after his sister.'
50. It seems quite likely that Octavia had literary interests herself, judging by the

fact that she attended readings of the *Aeneid* in the Emperor's presence, that literary works were dedicated to her, including some by Maecenas, and that she gave assistance to Greek men of letters. The poet Crinagoras of Mytilene wrote epigrams celebrating her wedding, the Stoic philosopher Athenodorus of Tarsus dedicated one of his books to her (Plut., *Poplicola* XVII) and the Academic philosopher Nestor of Tarsus was the tutor of her son Marcellus (Strabo, C 675). See Enrica Malcovati, 'Cultura e letteratura nella "Domus Augusta"', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della R. Univ. di Cagliari* 11 (1941) 30-60; and, more generally, M. Hammond, 'Hellenistic Influences on the Structures of the Augustan Principate', *MAAR* 17 (1940) 1-25.

51. At some point in time Augustus decided to nominate Marcellus as his official successor, and in 25 B.C. he appointed him to organize the theatrical festivals for the first time. As an aedile, Marcellus was in charge of the lavish and costly *Ludi Romani* in September of 23 B.C., the year of his death: see Dio Cassius, LIII.26.1 and LIII.31.3. See also J. Carcopino, *Passion et politique chez les Césars*, Paris, 1958, 94-96. It is not unlikely that Marcellus, in the course of his work with the theatre, built up a substantial library of poetry and other works of Greek and Roman literature.

That there was a tradition of art and literature in Marcellus's family is beyond question. Plutarch (*Marcellus*, I) records that the great general of the Second Punic War, Claudius Marcellus (consul in 222 B.C.) was a great lover of Greek learning and literature and admired those who excelled in them. After capturing Syracuse, Marcellus was able

- to bring home rare works of art and probably collections of books also, with all of which he adorned his triumph on his return to Rome – all the more so in view of the fact that he himself, a Roman general, boasted that he had taught his countrymen to esteem and admire the elegant and wonderful products of Greece, which until then they had never rated highly (*Marcellus*, XXI).
52. On the Porticus Octaviae and its library see Boyd, *Public Libraries*, 8-10; M. J. Boyd, 'The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia', *PBSR* 21 (1953) 152-159; M. G. Morgan, 'The Porticus of Metellus: A Reconsideration', *Hermes* 99 (1971) 480-505; B. Olinder, *Porticus Octavia in Circo Flaminio: Topographical Studies in the Campus Region of Rome*, Stockholm, 1974; L. Richardson, Jr., 'The Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae', *AJA* 80 (1976) 57-64; Dix, *Private and Public Libraries*, 208-211.
53. Dio Cassius, LV.8.1.
54. See p. 136.
55. Suet., *De gram.* XXI. See also p. 71 herein.
56. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 2347, 2349, 4431, 4433, 4435, 5192.
57. Dio Cassius, LXVI.24.
58. Philo Judaeus, *Embassy to Gaius*: 'For there is elsewhere no precinct like that which is called the Sebasteum, ... around it a girdle of pictures and statues in silver and gold, forming a precinct of vast breadth, embellished with porticoes, libraries, chambers, groves, gateways and wide open courts....'
59. See Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 205.
60. Tac., *Ann.* VI.39.1, VI.29.4-7; Dio Cassius, LVII.22.5, LVIII.24.3.
61. Suet., *Tiberius* LXI.3.
62. *Ibid.*; Tac., *Ann.* IV.34-35; Dio Cassius, LVII.24.2-3.
63. Suet., *Tiberius* LVI.
- The person in question may have been Seleucus Homericus of Alexandria, who worked as a grammarian first in his native city and then in Rome. He wrote commentaries on Homer, Hesiod and other ancient writers, as well as scholarly essays on the critical symbols used by Aristarchus: see M. Müller, *De Seleuco Homérico* (doctoral dissertation), Göttingen, 1891.
64. Suet., *Tiberius* XXXVI.
65. Suet., *Tiberius* XLIII.2. Elephantis or Elephantina lived in Rome at the time of the first emperors and wrote numerous pornographic books in prose and verse. See *Souda* ('Suidas'), s.v. 'Astyanassa'.
66. Suet., *Tiberius* LXX.2. These three were among the so-called 'New Poets' (*poetae novi*), a group of sensitive young writers of the next generation after Cicero, who adopted a uniform approach to style. The only member of the group whose oeuvre survives in its entirety is Catullus.
67. Suet., *Tiberius* LXXIV; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXIV.43. See also Boyd, *Public Libraries*, 10-14.
68. Suet., *Caligula* XXI.
69. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XII.19.94.
70. Martial, IV.53, XII.3.
71. Suet., *Tiberius* LXXIV.
72. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XIII.20: *Cum in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca sederemus ego et Apollinaris Sulpicius et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiares.*
73. Marc. Aur., *Ad Front.* IV.5: *Legi Catonis orationem de bonis Dulciae, et aliam qua tribuno diem dixit.*
74. Flavius Vopiscus, *Probus* II.1: *Usus autem sum, ... ex domo Tiberiana.*
75. See p. 139.
76. Suet., *Caligula* XVI.

77. *Ibid.* XXVII.4.
78. *Ibid.* XXXIV.2.
79. *Ibid.* XXXIV.2.
80. Dio Cassius, LIX.20.6.
81. For a list of 204 writers of the first century B.C., see Catherine Salles, *Lire à Rome*, Paris, 1992, 249-258.
82. See pp. 28, 32, 120-121, 174-177.
83. Seneca, *Controversiae* IV, praef. 2: *Asinius Pollio ... primus omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit.*
84. Suet., *De gram.* XVI.
85. On the subject of public readings see: Quinn, 'The Poet and his Audience', 155 ff.; E. Lefèvre, 'Die römische Literatur zwischen der Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit', in *Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur*, ed. G. Vogtspira, Tübingen, 1990, 9-15; Salles, *Lire à Rome*, 94-110; Emmanuelle Valette-Cagnac, *La Lecture à Rome. Rites et pratiques*, Paris, 1997, 111-169; Florence Dupont, 'Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τοῦ Ἡθοποιοῦ. Τὸ Θέατρο στὴν Ἀρχαία Ρώμη (= *L'acteur-roi ou le Théâtre dans la Rome antique*, tr. Sophia Georgakopoulou), Athens, 2003, 500-507.
86. See Anne-Marie Guillemin, *Le public et la vie littéraire à Rome*, Paris, 1937, 36; W. V. Clausen, 'Callimachus and Latin Poetry', *GRBS* 5 (1964) 181-196.
87. Suet., *De vita Vergili*, 33.
88. See p. 130 (Horace, *Ars poetica*, 386-390).
89. Suet., *Div. Aug.* LXXXIX.3.
90. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 1.13: 'This year has brought a rich crop of poets: hardly a day passed in April without a public recitation by at least one of them. I am delighted that literary studies are flourishing and that fresh talents are emerging and putting themselves forward, even though people are so little

inclined to attend gatherings of this kind. Most people sit in the antechambers and spend the time chatting to each other while the recitation is in progress, every now and then sending in to enquire whether the author has come in, whether he has read the preface or whether he has nearly reached the end of the piece. Only then do they go in, though still reluctantly and dragging their feet, and even then they do not sit through the reading but go out before the end, some of them slipping out furtively and others walking out quite openly. Things were different in our parents' time. It is said that Claudius Caesar, hearing a noise as he walked on the Palatine one day, asked what it was all about; and on being informed that Nonianus was reciting a composition of his, he immediately went over and surprised the author with his presence.'

91. See p. 139.
92. Hor., *Sat.* I.4.74-75, *Epist.* I.19.39-44.
93. Seneca, *Controversiae* IX.6.12. Lucius Cestius Pius, a Greek from Smyrna who taught rhetoric, gathered a large circle of followers round him in Rome. He made a name for himself by his sarcastic, caustic temperament, exemplified in long passages quoted by Seneca the Elder.
94. Suet., *De vita Auli Persi Flacci*. See also Rose, *Ἱστορία*, II, 90-91; Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, II, 1155-1167; N. Rudd, «Πέρσιος», in Kenney and Clausen, *Ἱστορία*, 673-683, 1130-1131.
95. Suet., *Vita Persi*.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.* One cannot help wondering how it was – assuming that what Suetonius says is true – that at the age of twenty-eight Persius had in his library the complete works of Chrysippus, the head of

the Stoic school, some 260 years after his death. The tradition that the Greek philosopher wrote more than 705 books is derived from Diogenes Laertius, VII.180. However, Diogenes, after giving a classified list of Chrysippus's writings (VII.190 ff.), tells a story about the outcry raised by the Stoics over the extent of the quotations in his work, for it was said that if all the passages quoted from other writers were to be removed there would be nothing left but empty pages: cf.

Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 109-110.

From the age of sixteen, Persius was instructed in the doctrines of the Stoics by Lucius Annaeus Cornutus (a teacher in Rome under Nero, 1st c. A.D.), and he soon gathered round him a circle of friends and readers including Caesius Bassus, Calpurnius Statura, Servilius Nonianus, Claudius Agathinus and Petronius Aristocrates.

98. Suet., *Vita Persi*.

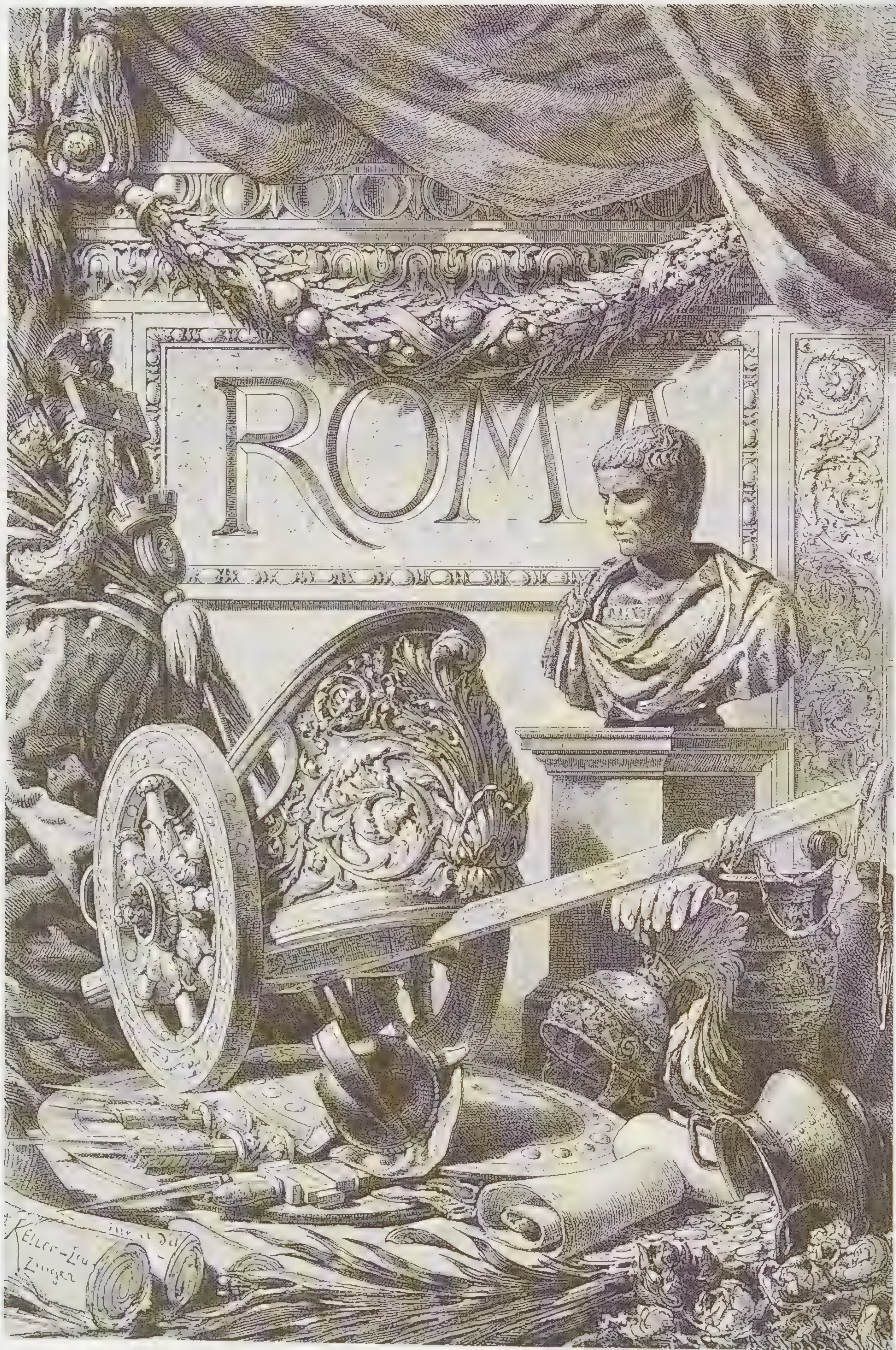
99. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* III.5.1-20.

CHAPTER IV

The Age of the Caesars

V

THE WORLD
OF
BOOKS



THE WORLD OF BOOKS

*Private and public libraries in the Fora and the Baths.
From the first to the fourth century A.D.*

Publishers and booksellers in Rome. That some kind of arrangements for selling books existed in Cicero's time, if not before, has been established beyond doubt, as mentioned earlier.¹ Under the Empire, the book trade received a powerful fillip from the remarkable increase in literary output, coupled with the growth of demand from a public brought up on public readings and from the need to fill the shelves of imperial and provincial libraries. Yet although the sources mention tens of thousands of papyrus rolls and specialized book collections in private libraries, the names of the *librarii* (booksellers) remain virtually unknown and there are only sporadic references to them and their places of work. This being the case, there is of course no way of knowing the answers to the questions that come to mind concerning the relations between writers and publishers, authors' intellectual property rights (if any), the number of personal copies handled by the booksellers and the methods used to market books in the provinces.² Bookseller/publishers and their business premises are mentioned occasionally by Horace, Martial, Seneca, Quintilian, Gellius and Galen.

Horace makes vague and conflicting statements about his relations with publishers – specifically about the Sosius brothers, who were said to have been the publishers of his poems.³ The picture he paints of the future awaiting any written work once it has fallen into the hands of a 'Sosius' is a gloomy one. He himself, in the first book of the *Satires* (35 B.C.), reassures his readers that they have nothing to fear from his caustic verses as his books are not available on the market.⁴ He mentions the Sosii twice by name (*Epistulae* I.20, *Ars Poetica* 345), commenting on the quality of the books they offer to the public and the profits they make from their dealings in books. The first of these references is in the last Epistle of Book I, published in 20 B.C., written at his Sabine farm and addressed to Maecenas, Lollius and other friends of his. The poem describes with great clarity and vividness the 'life story' of a book: not only what happens

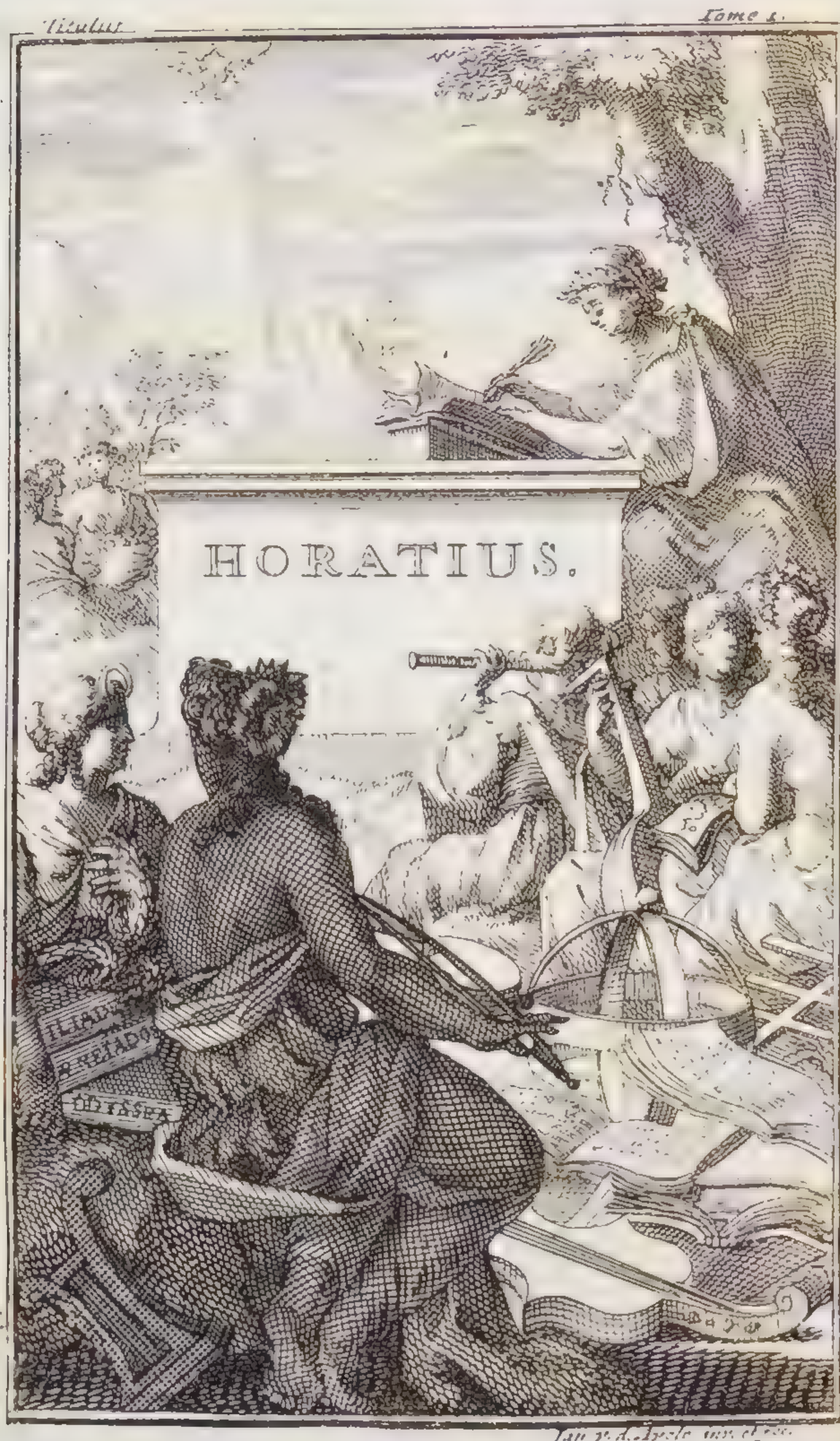
*Horace and
his publishers*

1. An engraving of Roman arms and armour, from J. von Falke, *Hellas und Rom*....

to it in the Roman and provincial markets but also how it preserves the Memory of the imperial régime's achievements. Horace has written a monologue actually addressed to his book, as if the book were an entity existing in its own right with the characteristics of an able-bodied young slave impatiently demanding to be set free so that it can bid farewell to the safety of its master's home and explore hazardous paths. It is worth quoting the poem in full:

You seem, my book, to be looking wistfully toward Vertumnus and Janus, in order, forsooth, that you may go on sale, neatly polished with the pumice of the Sosii. You hate the keys and seals, so dear to the modest; you grieve at being shown to few, and praise a life in public, though I did not rear you thus. Off with you, down to where you itch to go. When you are once let out, there will be no coming back. 'What, alas! have I done? What did I want?' you will say, when someone hurts you, and you find yourself packed into a corner, whenever your sated lover grows languid.

But unless hatred of your error makes the prophet lose his cunning, you will be loved in Rome till your youth leave you; when you've been well thumbed by vulgar hands and begin to grow soiled, you will either in silence be food for vandal moths, or will run away to Utica, or be sent in



2. An engraving of Horace drawing inspiration from the Muses. Frontispiece of *Les Oeuvres d'Horace*, with French translation and notes by M. Dacier, Paris, D. Thierry and C. Barbin, 1691.

bonds to Ilerda. Your monitor, from whom you turned away your ear, will then have his laugh, like the man who in anger pushed his stubborn ass over the cliff: for who would care to save an ass against his will? This fate, too, awaits you, that stammering age will come upon you as you teach boys their ABC in the city's outskirts.

When the milder sun brings you a larger audience, you will tell them about me: that I was a freedman's son, and amid slender means spread wings too wide for my

nest, thus adding to my merits what you take from my birth; that I found favour, both in war and peace, with the foremost in the State; of small stature, grey before my time, fond of the sun, quick in temper, yet so as to be easily appeased. If one chance to inquire my age, let him know that I completed my forty-fourth December in the year when Lollius drew Lepidus for colleague.

This 'cautionary' monologue, with its heavy irony, is probably an accurate reflection of the fate in store for every book published in the Roman market: a downward slide from glory to oblivion.

The second reference to the Sosii occurs in the *Ars Poetica* (345-349), where Horace writes about the money that his book will make for the publishers once it goes on sale in all the Mediterranean countries, while simultaneously helping to spread the fame of its author.

However, it is not only from literary references that the Sosii are known to us today: a fragment of a papyrus roll found in Egypt, entitled Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀθηναίου γραμματικοῦ, Ζητήματα γραμματικὰ εἰς τὴν Ξ τῆς Ἰλιάδος (*Grammatical Questions on the Fourteenth Book of the Iliad, by Apollodorus of Athens, Grammarian*), bears the imprint CΩCYOY (Sosyou, 'of Sosyos') below the title.⁵ The presence of the imprint, a sort of colophon, provides the basis for a working hypothesis. In the first place, we have to accept unequivocally that the Sosius brothers published works of Greek as well as Latin literature. Secondly, the fact that a book bearing their imprint was found in Egypt could mean of three things: either it was written in Rome and sold in the Alexandrian book market; or a buyer bought the book in Rome and took it to Alexandria for his own or someone else's use; or the Sosii ran a scriptorium in Alexandria, which was the main centre for papyrus books in the Mediterranean.

Another point worth noting is that the author of this book – Apollodorus of Athens, a grammarian of the second century B.C. who was active in the Hellenic world's three most important centres of learning, namely Athens, Alexandria and Pergamum – was by no means unknown to the Roman public. Cicero wrote a letter to Atticus advising him to consult Apollodorus's book for information about prominent members of the Epicurean circle in Athens and Athenian political leaders during the period in question.⁶ The book by Apollodorus that he was alluding to was presumably the *Chronica*, written in iambic trimeters, which served as the model for the *Chronica* of Cornelius Nepos. Apollodorus died in about 120 B.C. and Nepos made use of his *Chronica* before 54 B.C., which suggests that the Sosii had set up their publishing business at least by the early sixties B.C., since Nepos must have possessed or

A book of the Sosii
in Alexandria

had access to a copy of Apollodorus's *Chronica*, which may perhaps have borne the imprint of the Sosii.

A rival publisher, evidently no less well-known than the Sosii, was Tryphon,⁷ whose 'list' included Martial's epigrams. Another client of his was Quintilian, the foremost rhetorician of the Flavian period, whom Tryphon apparently cajoled into granting him the publishing rights on the *Institutiones oratoriae*. This was an extremely popular textbook of oratory which Quintilian wrote on the model of the handbooks on famous authors compiled by Alexandrian scholars: in it he compares Greek with Roman writers in every field of literature.⁸ Besides Tryphon, Martial mentions a certain Atrectus⁹ and a certain Secundus¹⁰ as shopkeepers who sold books. He tells us that Atrectus had his premises in the Argiletum, facing the Forum Caesaris, where he kept a large stock of poetry; he also allowed aspiring authors and others to sell books of their own at his shop, charging them a commission of five denarii per copy. Secundus, a freedman, had his *taberna* (bookshop) on the south side of the Temple of Peace in the general area of the Forum of Nerva: there he sold Martial's works, sometimes in the form of parchment codices (Martial, 1.2). Yet another bookseller/publisher, Quintus Pollius Valerianus,¹¹ is mentioned by our 'imperial' poet, while Seneca names a certain Dorus who edited and published excerpts from Livy's history. Dorus, we are told, possessed genuine autograph copies of some of Cicero's works, which he had acquired from the sale of papers or books from Atticus's library.¹² To these passing references we should add that not all publishers were entirely scrupulous: moreover, as Suetonius informs us, Lucan's poems were read in public after they had been published, and they were sold not only by industrious, conscientious publishers but also by some who were uneducated.¹³ Martial confirms that Lucan's poems were promoted by booksellers;¹⁴ and Gellius, who makes frequent references to the bookshops of Rome, tells us where they were: in the Vicus Sandaliarius, near the Temple of Peace, and the Sigillaria district, whose exact whereabouts are unknown.¹⁵

Bookshops in the Roman period are to be imagined as being not very different from those of our own time: the area of pavement in front of the shop, perhaps sheltered by a covered arcade, served as a 'shop window'. The shutters may well have been used not only for purposes of security but also for the display of advertisements and lists of books that customers might want to buy.¹⁶ Inside there would have been open-fronted bookcases (*scrinia*) and

3. A Roman bookshop in the time of Martial. Drawing by K. Sp. Staikos.



closed cupboards (*armaria*) on the walls, and the shop would have been furnished with reading-desks and cabinets or tables for the display of books. These bookshops, located on the ground floor of multi-storey residential buildings, may have communicated directly with stoas and scriptoria opening on to courtyards, where slaves worked as copyists and proof-readers. It should be added that Roman booksellers were not exclusively engaged in reproducing and marketing contemporary literature: sometimes they also sold rare books that commanded a premium because of their associations with illustrious people, in other words copies that had belonged to famous private collections or historic libraries, or sometimes illustrated *éditions de luxe*. Many of those books were bought as gifts; others were much in demand with vain aristocrats who wished to enrich the contents of their sumptuous libraries.¹⁷ A vivid picture of everyday commercial life in Rome is presented by the finds from the excavations along the street called the Via del Foro at Pompeii.¹⁸

According to Gellius, the grammarian Fidus Optatus claimed to have in his library an old copy of the *Aeneid* that had belonged to Virgil: this he had bought from a bookseller in the Sigillaria district for no less than twenty aurei.¹⁹ The demand for old books – not only for their content but also for the higher standard of copying and the quality of the papyrus – was evidently quite considerable, since we know that many booksellers resorted to various tricks to give their books an antique look. The orator and philosopher Dio Cocceianus, generally known as Dio Chrysostom, who was active in Rome in the first and second centuries A.D. and had an entrée into the imperial court, has the following passage in one of his *Orations*:

*They know very well that old books are in greater demand because they are better written and are on more durable papyrus. They therefore rubbed the defective copies of their own time in flour, to give them the colour of old manuscripts. In this way they damaged them even more and passed them off as old copies.*²⁰

It need hardly be said that the practice of giving books a false patina of antiquity was nothing new. Galen records that even in the time of the Ptolemies and the rivalry between the two great Hellenistic libraries, those of Alexandria and Pergamum, there were sharp operators in business who had devised various methods of making new papyrus rolls look old and forging books by old authors.²¹ Booksellers also dealt in books that were put up for

4. Gellius in his library/scriptorium. Print from A. Gellii Noctium Atticarum..., Lyon, C. Boutesteyn and J. du Vivie, 1706.



auction when assistants were being sold off, a typical instance being the case of Faustus Sulla, already mentioned.²² We also know that major libraries changed hands after the death of their original owners, as was the case with Servius Claudius's library, acquired by Cicero;²³ and from time to time, often as a result of proscriptions, books from other libraries came on to the market and were available to buyers anywhere in the Graeco-Roman world.

Editions and intellectual property. Authors and their published writings were not protected by any copyright law in the ancient world, as far as we know, though of course this does not mean that the reproduction and marketing of their works was completely unregulated or that there were no mechanisms to safeguard a person's right of inheritance or intellectual property. In fact there was an unwritten (moral) law – and even a written law applicable in certain cases – making it possible for the author to control what happened to his work. Quite possibly, in some circles, the stigma of plagiarism harmed the plagiarist more than a court case could have done, as we shall see. Good cases can be made out for both sides of the argument, since the evidence, though plentiful, is conflicting.

The next question that arises is whether writers had any way of protecting themselves against rapacious 'publishers' or whether, from the moment their work was published, their rights as authors were automatically transferred to the public and to the publishing and bookselling business. There is no doubt in my mind that, at least until Cicero's lifetime, publishing norms differed in some respects from those established under the Empire, when the emergence of properly organized bookshops, the practice of holding open meetings and the first public readings, the opening of the first imperial libraries and the literary propaganda of the emperors led to major changes in the Roman literary scene.

From the middle of the second century B.C., an institution that played an important part in preserving and reproducing works of literature, or at least theatrical works, was the guild of writers and actors (*Collegium scribarum et histrionum*), founded in 207 B.C. with its meeting-place on the Aventine Hill.²⁴ For more than two centuries it arranged for scripts to be sent to various theatrical societies and actor-managers, with the result that the distribution and sale of plays came to be organized on a commercial basis. Only sporadic references exist to Roman authors' publishing practices, especially in the second century B.C., but they can be summarized in the following epigrammatic testimonies. Livius Andronicus, who marks the beginning of Roman

literature and through whose efforts the Collegium and a private school on the Aventine were founded, evidently had no need of a publishing apparatus for the dissemination of his *Odyssia*, because it soon established itself as a standard school textbook: indeed, it was still being used by Orbilius, the schoolmaster who taught the young Horace, approximately in the time of Augustus.²⁵ Its great popularity is apparent from the antiquarian researches of Gellius, who found an old copy of the *Odyssia* in a bookshop at Patrae.²⁶

However, irrespective of any practices that may or may not have been enforced by the Collegium, the transmission of literary works from generation to generation down to Cicero's time was erratic and did not necessarily comply with any specific rule. It should be added that, until the *grammatici* irrupted into Roman intellectual life in the middle of the second century B.C., we have no evidence to suggest that there were any private or public archives containing even a representative cross-section of Roman literature. For example, Livius Andronicus's comedies (which Cicero thought not worth a second reading) were soon supplanted by those of Naevius and Plautus,²⁷ while his tragedies were overshadowed later by Ennius and Accius.²⁸ Naevius died towards the end of the third century B.C., and on his death, according to the epitaph carved on his tombstone, 'The Romans forgot how to speak Latin.'²⁹ Plautus's plays and Virgil's poems overtook Naevius, whose writings were no longer available in the last years of the Republic, apart from an edition of his *Bellum Poenicum* prepared by Lampadio.³⁰ In the mid first century B.C. Ennius's *Annales* was used as a school textbook, studied by grammarians and taken as a model by poets, and Quintus Vargunteius expounded it on set days to large audiences.³¹ The memory of Pacuvius and Accius was preserved (Cicero goes so far as to describe the former as the greatest Roman tragedian), and so their plays were still being performed in the first century B.C.³² The popularity of Plautus's plays and the existence of numerous comedies spuriously attributed to him created an esoteric bookish theatrical tradition; and this in turn led eventually to the establishment of a canon of his authentic comedies by grammarians such as Aelius Stilo and Varro in the first century B.C.³³

The Collegium clearly played a major part in the preservation and wider distribution of the theatrical literary memory, at least until the beginning of the Empire – all the more so since it possessed the means of promoting the work of individual authors and plays. The comedies of Caecilius, for example, owed their popularity to the intervention and persistence of the actor-manager Ambivius Turpio,³⁴ while Terence and Lucilius, who seem to have had little time for

RE RVM·GESTARVM·DIVI·AVGVSTI·QVI
SVBIECIT·ET INPENSARVM·QVAS·IN REM·PVBLICAM
INDVABVS·AHENELIS·PILIS·QVAE·SV·T·ROMAE·POSITAE

ANNOS·VN·DE·VIGINTI·NATVS·EXERCITVM·PRIVATO·CONSILIO·ET·PRIVATA·IMPENSA·PATRICIORVM·NUMERVM·A
COMPARAVI·PER·QVEM·REM·PVBLICAM·MINATIONE·FACTIONIS·OPPRESSAM·TYM·TER·LEGI·ET·IN·CONS
IN·LIBERTATEM·VINDI·TVS·DECRETIS·HONOR·IS·IN·LVSTRVM·POST·AN·NV·AL
ORDINEM·SV·O·CONSVL·BY·II·VM·ROMANORVM·CENSA
REM·LOCVM·ERIVM·MINI·DEDI·GENTATRIA·MILLIA
RES·PVBLICA·N·IAO·PRAETORE·SIMVL·CVM·SOLVS·FECI·CENSORIN
CONSVLIBVS·IA·AVTEM·EODEM·ANNO·ME·CLIVM·ROMANORV
CONSULEM·CVM·DISSET·ET·TRIVM·VIRVM·RE·IPVBLI·TA·TRIGINTA·TRIAM
CAE·CONSTITVEN·CONIEGA·TIB·CAT·QVO·LVSTRO·CE
QVI·PARENTEM·MEVM·N·I·IN·EXILIVM·EXPVLI·IVDIGIIS·LEGI·CENTVM·M·II
TIMIS·VLTVS·EORVM·OSTEA·BELLVM·INFERENTIS·RE·PVBLICAE·LEGIBVS·NOVI
VICIN·L·NAQVE·TOTO·IN·ORBE·TERRARVM·S·IAM·EX·NOST
RMA·TERRA·L·MAR·VICTORQVE·OMNIBV·TANDA·POS

GENTES·QVIBVS·TYTO
MILLIA·CIVIVM·ROMA
TA·EX·QVIBVS·DEDV
TIS·MILLIA·ALIQVANT
AVI·PECVNIAM·PROP
AS·SIOVAE·MINORE
VANS·TRIVMPHA
AEL·IMPERATOR
PERSEDI

VOQVE·BELLO·NVN·CV
AEOS·AVSPICIIS·MEIS·TERRAM
QVIENS·DECREVIT·SENATVS·SVPER
R·QVO·EX·SENATVS·CONSVLTO
VO·NTANTECV
AM·TER·DECIENS
NICIAE·POTESTATIS
M·ET·ABSENT

VI·NSERVARE·QVAM·EXCIDERE·M
SACRAMENTO·MEO·FVERVNT·CIRCITER
IS·AVT·REMISI·IN·MVNICIPIA·SVA·STIPEN
ANTRECENTA·ET·IS·OMNIBVS·AGROS·A
ME·DEDI·NAVES·CEPI·SESCEN
EMES·FVERVNT
RVLIS·TRIVMPHOS·ET·APPELLA
RIS·TRIVMPHOS·MIHI·SE
IS·DEPOSVIT·IN·CAP

TIS·OB·RPS·A
E·PRI·SPERE·GESTAS·QV
IDVM·ESSE·DIS·IMMO
VPPLICATVM·EST·FVERE·DO
VM·REGES·AVT·RE·V·M·II
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37

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QVER·II

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PAX·CVM·PI

ISSE·PRODATVR·A

IO·MEOS·QVOS·IVV

ABE M TERRA
OPVLVMQVER
SVBECTVM

IMPERIO POPVLI ROM
VM FECIT INCISARVM

ISSV PO PVLIET SENATVS/SENA
POPVL CONLE A MAGIPPA EGI
SIMVM FEC QVOIVSTRO CIVI
AGIENS CEINTVM MILLIA ET SEXA
AR CUM IMPERT LVSTRVM
QVO LVSTRO CE NSA SVNT
ENS CENTVM MILL IA ET DVCE
NSVLAR CVM IMPERIO LVSTRVM
EX POMPELO ET SEX APPYLETO COS
NORVM CAPITVM QVADRAGIENS
TA ET SEPTEM MILLIA 7
PLA MAIORVIA EXOLESCENTIA
TARVM RER MPA IMI

VLES ET SACERDOTES
VOIS E FERERVNT VIVO
AQUATTVOR AMPLISSIMA COLLE
LTIAM ET MVNICIPALEM VNIVER
OMNIA PVLVINARIA PRO VALE

N SALIARE CARMEN ET SACRO SAN
REM TRIBVNICIA POTESTAS MIHI
MVS FAEM INVI QLE
ERENTE MIHI QVOD PATER ME
M ALIQVOD POST ANNOS EO MOR
ECVPAVERAT CUNCTA EX ITALIA

QVANTA ROMAE NVN
O VALGIO CONSVLIS
ORIS ET VIRTUTIS AD POSTAM
CONSACRAVIT IN QVA POMPE
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OVENNIVM ET EX EO DIF CYO DEDVCTE VNT IN FORVM VT INTERISSENT CONSILII
PVBLICIS DECREVIT SENATVS EQVITES VIEM ROMANI VNIVERSI PRINCIPES
PVBLICIS VTR MOVA RYM YARM T HASTI ARGENTIS DONATIVM AP
PELLAVERVNT

PLEBEI ROMANAE VIRITVM HS TRECENOS NVMERVM EX TESTAMENTO PATRIS
MEI ET NOMINE MEO HS VADRINGENOS EX BEILORYM MANIBUS CONSVL
QVINTVM DEDI ITERVM AVTEM IN CONSVLATV DECIMO EX ATRIMONIO
MEO HS QVADRINGENOS CONGTART VIRITVM TER NVMER VI ET CONSVL
VNDECIMVM DVODECIM FRVMENTATIONES FRVMENTO PVATIM COEMPTO
EMENSVS SVM ET TRIBVNICA POTESTATE DVO DECIMVM VADRINGENOS
NVMMOS TERTIVM VIRITVM DEDI QVAE MEA CONGIARIAT RVENERVNT
NVMM MILLIA NVNQVAM MINVS QVINQVAGA ET DVCENTA

IRIBY IAE POTESTATIS DVO DEVICENSIMVM CONSVL XII TRECENS ET
VIGINTI MILLIBVS PLEBIS VRBANAEE SEXACENOS DENARIOS VIRITVM DEDI
IN COION MILITVM MEORVM CONSVL QVINTVM EX MANIBUS VIRITVM
MILLIA NVMMVM SINGVLA DEDI ACCEPERVNT ID TRIUMPHALE CONGIARIVM
INCOLIS HOMINVM CIRCITER CENTVM ET VIGINTI MILLIA CONSVL TER
TIVM DE NVMM SEXACENOS DENARIOS PLEBEI QVAETVM FRVMENTVM PVBLICVM
ACCIPERE DEDI EA MILLIA HOMINVM PAVLO PLVRA QVAM DVCENTA FVERVNT
PECVNIA AGRIS QVOS IN CONSVLATV MEO QVARTO ET POSTEA CONSVLIBVS
M CRI TON LENTVLO AVGVRE ADSIGNAVI MILITIBVS SOLV MVNICIPIS EA
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FRAED VMERAVI ET CI CITER BIS MILL NS ET SEJCENTENS QVOD PRO AGRIS
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CONSVLIBVS ET L CANINIO ET Q FABRICIO C C TL OS EME
RITEIS STIPENDIS IN SVA MVNICIP I PRAEM VMERATO
PER SOLV QVAM IN REM SEST III
IMPENDI

QVATER CVNIA MEA IUVI AERARIVM ITA VT SESTERTIVM MILLIEN ET
QVING VT S ADEOS QUI PRAERANT AERARIO DETVLERIM ET M LEPI
ET LAR NTIO COS I ERARIYM MILITARE QVOD EX CONSILIO
CO VMESTEX PRAEMIA DARENIVM MILITIBVS QVINI A
ST EMERY SENT HS MILLIENS ET SEPTINGENTI
FO DETVLI
Q O CN ET P LENTVLI C TES FVERVNT QVOD CERENT
CENTVM MILLIBVS H NYM RIEVS TOIRY
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the Collegium, did not receive so much publicity: that may have been the reason for their low ranking in the canon of Volcacius Sedigitus.³⁵ The works of Lucilius, an intellectual poet who was often out of step with the times, were initially circulated among his friends, who were members of Scipio's most intimate circle.³⁶ Lucilius used to say jokingly that he did not want his work to be read either by very highly-educated people or by the completely uneducated, but only by such as Junius Congus and Decimus Laelius, presumably on account of their friendship.³⁷ Lucilius's friends also included the grammarians C. Laelius Archelaus and Vettius Philocomus, who probably edited and published his *Satires* later.³⁸ Cato the Elder, probably the first Roman to make fair copies of his own speeches and publish them, won recognition from his contemporaries for his contribution to literature, so it is not surprising that Cicero, in the first century B.C., had a collection of 150 of Cato's speeches.³⁹ Lastly, although Lucretius's works were dedicated to Memmius, Cicero and his brother had copies of them in 54 B.C. (about the time of Lucretius's death), and most probably the great Roman orator edited and published them.⁴⁰

*The role
of grammarians
in sustaining
the written tradition*

From the middle of the second century B.C. much of the credit for editing and publishing works of Roman literature – even early works – goes to the grammarians who flocked into Rome at that time and attached themselves to members of the aristocracy. These men of letters, whether through their friendship with poets and statesmen or by acquiring manuscripts after an author's death, edited numerous books: quite often, in fact, the manuscript tradition can be traced right back to them. We have already seen how Lampadio edited Naevius, Vargunteius edited Ennius, Archelaus and Philocomus edited Lucilius; while Aelius Stilo, when not occupied with his work as a teacher and literary scholar, wrote speeches for all the eminent men of his day.⁴¹ It is worth casting our minds back to an episode that gives us an insight into the contemporary code of ethics in the publishing world: Stilo's son-in-law, Servius Claudius, stole one of Stilo's books before it was published, but found himself enveloped in such a cloud of opprobrium that he had to leave Rome in shame and embarrassment.⁴² So it is clear that there must have existed a gentlemen's agreement between authors and their editor-publishers concerning what was to be done with their writings, at least for the remainder of their lifetime and always provided that they had not ceded their rights to anyone else. This



5. A passage from Augustus's will. Drawing by P. Sellier from V. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains...*, vol. 4, Paris, 1881, p. 163.

conclusion is supported by the fact that no less a playwright than Terence felt obliged to leave Rome for ever to escape the rumours that he was a mere plagiarist who published the work of others as his own.⁴³

Certainly there is evidence of plagiarism, piracy and literary forgery, especially under the Empire, as we shall see: even Virgil was a victim. A typical case in point from an earlier period is Saeivius Nicanor, a highly-reputed teacher, whose commentaries were said to be stolen.⁴⁴ We are told that at that time (round about 150 B.C.) indices or catalogues of authors and the titles of their works circulated among the educated public and the pupils of the twenty or more private schools that existed in Rome. These could be described as bibliographical records certifying and safeguarding the good name of the author and book in question. Suetonius informs us that the name of Aurelius Opilius is given in these indices sometimes with one L and sometimes with two.⁴⁵

On the other hand, the tendency to plagiarize was sometimes counter-balanced by honest efforts to ensure that books were attributed to their rightful authors. For instance, Lucius Orbilius Pupillus, a contemporary of Cicero's, once bought up an admirable work by Marcus Pompilius Andronicus entitled *Criticisms of the Annales of Ennius* (which Pompilius had had to sell to a casual buyer for sixteen thousand sesterces, to make ends meet) and had it published under its author's name.⁴⁶ And Marcus Valerius Probus, active in the early part of the first century B.C., found a number of old books in one of the provinces by authors who had been forgotten in Rome: these he gathered together and published in a collective edition, having first made the necessary corrections to the text and added a critical commentary.⁴⁷ Finally, Suetonius in his *De grammaticis* gives a mass of information about the literary world and publishing practices.⁴⁸

We come now to the great literary friendship that grew up between two avid book-lovers, Atticus and Cicero. From them, and especially from their correspondence, we learn much of what we know about the conditions prevailing in the 'publishing business' under the Republic.⁴⁹

The first point to be noted is that there existed a 'code of publishing practice' between Cicero and Atticus, some sort of reciprocal gentlemen's agreement whereby the author licensed the publisher to copy and distribute his books en masse and the publisher allowed the author to revise and emend the text of books in stock, and even of books already in circulation. To sum up what has been said earlier in these pages, Cicero agreed that Atticus should have copies made of *De oratore* (*ad Att.* IV.13), and he was very annoyed that Atticus had

Cicero's publishing
practices

decided on his own initiative to publish (*edere*) *De finibus* without his permission (XIII.21a); and his anger was compounded by the fact that, although *De finibus* was dedicated to Brutus, someone else had been allowed to read it before Brutus had seen it. Atticus kept copies of Cicero's published works, and so the latter was able to make revisions and corrections to books that were already in circulation: this happened with a geographical work that Cicero was intending to have published, which he asked Atticus to correct in accordance with the usage of Dicaearchus (VI.2). In two similar cases, he asked him to replace the name of Eupolis with the name of Aristophanes in the book entitled *Orator* (XII.6a), both in his own copies and in those already given to customers, and to delete the name of Corfidius from all copies of the forensic speech *Pro Ligario* (XIII.44). On the other hand, he was not concerned about the fact that his letters had been widely published, because, as he admitted to Atticus in 49 B.C., he himself had allowed several people to make copies of them (VIII.9).

Literary patrons. Atticus's relationships with Cicero and also with Varro, whose *Imagines* had circulated all over the world (*in omnis terras*) should not be taken as the norm of contemporary publishing practice. Many aspiring or occasional writers simply set their sights on winning recognition for their literary talent: one such, as we have seen, was Hirtius, who wrote a broadside against Cato on Caesar's orders.⁵⁰ This means that during the imperial period, from the earliest years of Augustus's omnipotence, the writing, dissemination and reproduction of literary works were all periodically affected by the three factors that most strongly influenced Roman intellectual life: the writers' need for patronage,⁵¹ the practice of *recitationes* leading to public recognition⁵² and the existence of public libraries.⁵³ But let us start at the beginning.

Maecenas, mentioned above, initiated the practice of establishing a working relationship between the creative writer and his patron, which gave added prestige to the Roman nobleman and a greater measure of financial and social security to the writer, usually a poet. But not all writers of the Augustan Age or later enjoyed the comfortable circumstances of a Virgil or a Pliny, and few had any illusions about being able to earn a living by the pen alone, that is by the sales of their books. In fact most of them came from relatively humble backgrounds in the provinces, with none of the advantages of Roman citizenship, and made every effort to be accepted into literary circles and win the support of a patron, for political as well as financial reasons. Maecenas, the epitome of the cultured, altruistic patron, gathered round him poets of the

calibre of Horace, Virgil and Propertius, as well as lesser luminaries such as Lucius Varius and Valgius Rufus. Similarly, Messalla Corvinus,⁵⁴ who apparently kept somewhat aloof from the imperial court, created a literary circle whose members included Ovid, Sulpicia, Tibullus and probably all the contributors to the *Corpus Tibullanum*.⁵⁵ The benefits of patronage which made it so desirable were not only financial (for example, Maecenas enabled Horace to maintain a comfortable lifestyle by giving him one of his country estates) but political as well, since a writer secure in the knowledge of his patron's backing was not constrained to give in to pressure. This gave a poet the luxury of being able to reply with a polite refusal (*recusatio*) when called upon to sing the praises of the Emperor's great deeds, without having to suffer the usual consequences. What is more, Maecenas recognized the right of his poet friends to be true to their own nature: some of them claimed that, as Callimachean poets, they were unable to write an epic.

We have already examined the institution of *recitationes* and the diametrically opposed views of certain poets, such as Horace and Persius, concerning the constructiveness of free criticism and literary creativity and the warped approach to those public readings, which turned them into displays of social exhibitionism.⁵⁶ For the fact is that readings of literary works, which started as a form of intellectual nourishment for a fairly small circle of the author's friends, soon developed into public meetings. Aristocrats started adding purpose-built auditoriums to their villas to entertain large gatherings of friends, acquaintances, clients, freedmen and even claqueurs.⁵⁷ Anybody who had no auditorium of his own could hire one. In this way public readings started to acquire a theatrical dimension, and rhetorical tricks and figures of speech were employed to celebrate the return of the mythical heroes and link them with the achievements of the Empire. The distinguishing mark of this literary practice was its propagandistic character, for authors saw it as a way of establishing their work as a written *monumentum* and promoting its circulation through book production. In these circumstances, aspiring writers regarded any publicity for their work or any reproduction of it in book form as a godsend, and they were not really interested in copyright, editorial emendations or even the money to be made by the sales of their books.

Until the age of the Caesars at least, Roman libraries were imperial foundations and the Emperor retained control over their organization and new accessions. Moreover, the statue of the deified Augustus dominating those libraries represented a kind of connecting link between divine and earthly

Mutation
of the character
of recitationes

knowledge; and perhaps that was the rationale behind the censorship that the emperors (with the exception of Claudius) imposed on literary works and their authors until Nero's time. For example, as already mentioned, Augustus burnt all prophetic books of anonymous authorship or by writers of little repute if their political content was ambiguous,⁵⁸ and Ovid's poems were banned from the imperial libraries after the poet fell into disfavour and was banished to Tomi.⁵⁹ Similarly, the writings of a most important orator and politician, Cassius Severus, were burnt by Augustus, who subsequently sent their author into

exile.⁶⁰ Tiberius gave orders for all the works of Aemilius Scaurus and Cremutius Cordus to be publicly burnt;⁶¹ and in his efforts to influence the writing of poetry he heaped honours on the poets he liked and saw to it that their works – and portrait busts of them – were installed in his libraries, thus fostering a literary output aimed at winning his favour. Caligula, who seriously thought of banning Homer from his libraries, brought the writings of Titus Labienus, Cremutius Cordus and Cassius Severus back into favour.⁶² Nero, though he reacted with clemency to the attacks on him by Lucan and Curtius Montanus and the lampoons written by other authors, forced Seneca to commit suicide in the aftermath of Piso's conspiracy.⁶³

Two others sent into exile were Persius's teacher, Verginius Flavus, and the Stoic philosopher Gaius Musonius Rufus,⁶⁴ while Publius Clodius Thrasea Paetus paid with his life for daring to write a biography of Cato of Utica in order to promote the ideals of the Republic.⁶⁵



6. Ovid in his study at Tomi. Woodcut from Ovid, *Epistolae Heroides*, Venice, J. Bapt. Sessa, 1501.

One last point that needs to be added to this discussion of intellectual property is this: if a sufficient number of writers' wills – or at least a sufficient number of references to them – had survived, we might have a better picture of the legal backing that existed for hereditary rights and hence for copyright. Since the only references and testimonia that we have are sparse and often contradictory, there is no reason to suppose that there was any legislation

specifically designed to protect an author's intellectual property. It is true that wills were accepted as proof of the assignment of copyright and that the general public strongly deprecated plagiarism and piracy, as we have seen, but apparently there were fly-by-night publishers and booksellers who had no scruples about pirating complete works or parts thereof, as in the case of Diodorus Siculus, and apparently did so without incurring any legal consequences or even any moral strictures. So it is reasonable to assume that publishing practice under the Empire followed the law of the market which states that supply responds to demand.

The poet and the hazards of publication. To learn how matters stood in Rome in the final decades of the first century A.D., with regard to the relations between the aristocracy and the authorities on the one hand and intellectuals and aspiring young writers on the other, the problem of plagiarism and piracy and the methods of reproducing, publishing and marketing books, let us look at the picture presented by Martial in his epigrams. Martial touches every sensitive spot in the whole process, and does it so well that the subject would make a good specialized topic for a dissertation. Not being a poet given to philosophical musings like Horace, he wrote epigrams voicing fulsome praise for three emperors; and it was only when he had overcome his sense of insecurity that he ventured to blacken the memory of the first them, Domitian. Martial's primary concern was that his poems should be read, so he did not belittle the petit-bourgeois puritanism of the new senators from the provinces and succeeded in gathering round him a coterie of followers including poets, writers and politicians – and also informers, such as the notorious Aquilius Regulus. He acquired a house in Rome and a staff of slaves as well as scribes to help him with his literary work. Altogether he wrote 1,561 epigrams, in which he sketched Roman society of the last quarter of the first century A.D.⁶⁶ Many of them are extremely sharp-tongued, others notable for their literary merit; and it is clear that in writing them he used the whole of Greek and Roman tradition as a cryptographic code. Although he occasionally wonders about the intellectual calibre of his readers, he urges them to take the great poets as their models and comments on the importance of the immortality of their works: in this way he gives voice to a metaphysical philosophy. But let us look at some characteristic aspects of his verses, taking them subject by subject.

In the introduction to the first book of epigrams he informs his readers that he has written his 'little books' in such a way that no self-respecting critic can

*Roman intellectual
life in Martial's
epigrams*

complain about them, since the wit contained in them gives offence to no one, not even to people of the most humble station in life. In the first epigram he declares his ambition that his writings shall win for him, while he is alive and can appreciate it, the glory and fame that poets strive for but seldom obtain before their bodies have reverted to ashes (*Epigr.* 1.1). Those who want to take his books with them as their companions on long journeys (written on parchment in small format) are advised to look for the bookseller Secundus behind the threshold of the Temple of Peace and the Forum of Pallas (the Forum of Nerva) (1.2). He suggests that readers wishing to enjoy his epigrams in their spare time should go to the publisher/bookseller Quintus Pollius Valerianus, 'by whose agency my trifles are not allowed to die' (1.113). He warns Lupercus not to 'threaten' to send a boy to borrow a book of Martial's verses, because he need only go to the shop (*taberna*) opposite the Forum of Caesar whose doorposts are covered with lists of the poetical works on sale there (1.117). And when Quintus asks to be given a book of his epigrams, he answers that he has no copy to spare but copies can be bought from Tryphon the bookseller (IV.72).

In his verses Martial often gives voice to his thoughts on the fate of each book of his once it has left him: 'Go! away with you! But you could have been safer at home' (1.3); 'Go to Rome, book: if she enquires where you have come from, say from the direction of the Aemilian Way' (III.4). Elsewhere he hints at the importance to him of knowing that his poems are in the right hands: 'You're about to run without me to the city, little book: do you want to be recommended to many people, or will one be enough? One will be enough, believe me, a man to whom you won't be a stranger - Julius, a name that's continually on my lips' (III.5). And with a note of pride in his voice he declares that his books are on sale in the shops of far-off Vienna - 'if what they say is true' (VII.88).

In a bid to ensure his undying fame, Martial asks Sextus to reserve a niche for his bust in the Palatine Library, next to those of Pedo, Marsus and Catullus.⁶⁷ On the subject of the survival of books for posterity, he points out to Faustinus (apropos of the works of Pompullus) that cleverness is not enough to win fame: what ensures immortality for a literary work is its genius (VI.61).

It is obvious from Martial's epigrams that he chose two different ways of making his work known to the Roman public and winning the lasting fame he longed for - or, if he did not actually make the choice, that both were in common use in his time. In the first place, he employed scribes to make copies, either to give as presents or in response to orders from private customers;

secondly, he sold his books through bookseller/publishers such as Tryphon, Secundus, Valerianus and perhaps others as well. In one epigram he names a certain Demetrius as the faithful copyist of his books (I.101), while in another he blames the obscurity and bad Latin of some of his poems on the excessive haste of a copyist (II.8). His epigrams were ideal targets for plagiarists and would-be poets, and accordingly he deprecates Rome's pseudo-intellectual life, which Horace had savaged so effectively before him. Martial misses no opportunity to name and shame them: 'The little book you are reciting, Fidentinus, is mine. But when you recite it badly it begins to be yours' (I.38); and in another epigram he protests that a whole page in a book by that same person is stolen from him, adding that Fidentinus will never become a poet simply by borrowing Martial's verses (I.53). Of another plagiarist he remarks sarcastically, 'Paulus buys poems; Paulus recites "his" poems. For what you buy you can rightly call your own' (II.20).

Libraries in the imperial fora. Vespasian (reigned A.D. 71-79), the founder of the Flavian dynasty, inherited a capital city that was depopulated and devastated by fire. Immediately after his triumph celebrating victory in the Judaeian campaign and the establishment of the Pax Romana (A.D. 71), he set about restoring the imperial palace and public places and launched a programme of monumental new building. One of his great projects was the Forum of Vespasian or 'Temple' of Peace (*Templum Pacis*), which was built on the ruins of the ancient provision market (*Macellum*).⁶⁸ This consisted of an open quadrangle enclosed by colonnades on all four sides. Along one side were four buildings with the same orientation as the Temple of Peace, laid out symmetrically on either side of it. The two end buildings, both rectangular, were used as libraries, perhaps one Greek and the other Latin. Of the other two buildings situated at the sides of the temple, the one on the east housed the offices of the city planning authority (the *tabularium*): it was there that planning records were kept, which explains why the later Marble Plan of Rome (*Forma Urbis Romae*) made under Septimius Severus was affixed to it.⁶⁹ The *Templum Pacis* was much admired by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi.24.102), who described it as one of the most beautiful buildings that the world has ever beheld. It was adorned with magnificent works of art, presumably spoils brought back to Rome by Vespasian from the victorious campaign in Judaea, as attested by Josephus.⁷⁰

We have no evidence from literary sources concerning the running or the

contents of the libraries in the Temple of Peace apart from two passages in Gellius.⁷¹ The first refers to a book containing letters by Sinius Capito which, according to one of Gellius's friends, was deposited in the Temple of Peace (as far as the friend could remember). The second is concerned with Gellius's own studies on the art of dialectic and his search for reference books written by Lucius Aelius (such as the *Commentary on Proloquia*, which he found and read in the *bibliotheca Pacis*). Gellius's statement that Aelius's book was not a school textbook but a work of reference for use in his own research is of some literary interest, as it suggests that this Roman public library contained books that were not merely three hundred years old but were also of specialized grammatical interest. The *tabularium*, where the *Forma Urbis* was later put up



7. Part of the Arch of Titus, erected in Rome after the Emperor's death (A.D. 81), with a relief of Titus's triumph in Rome with spoils characteristic of the Jews' cultural history.

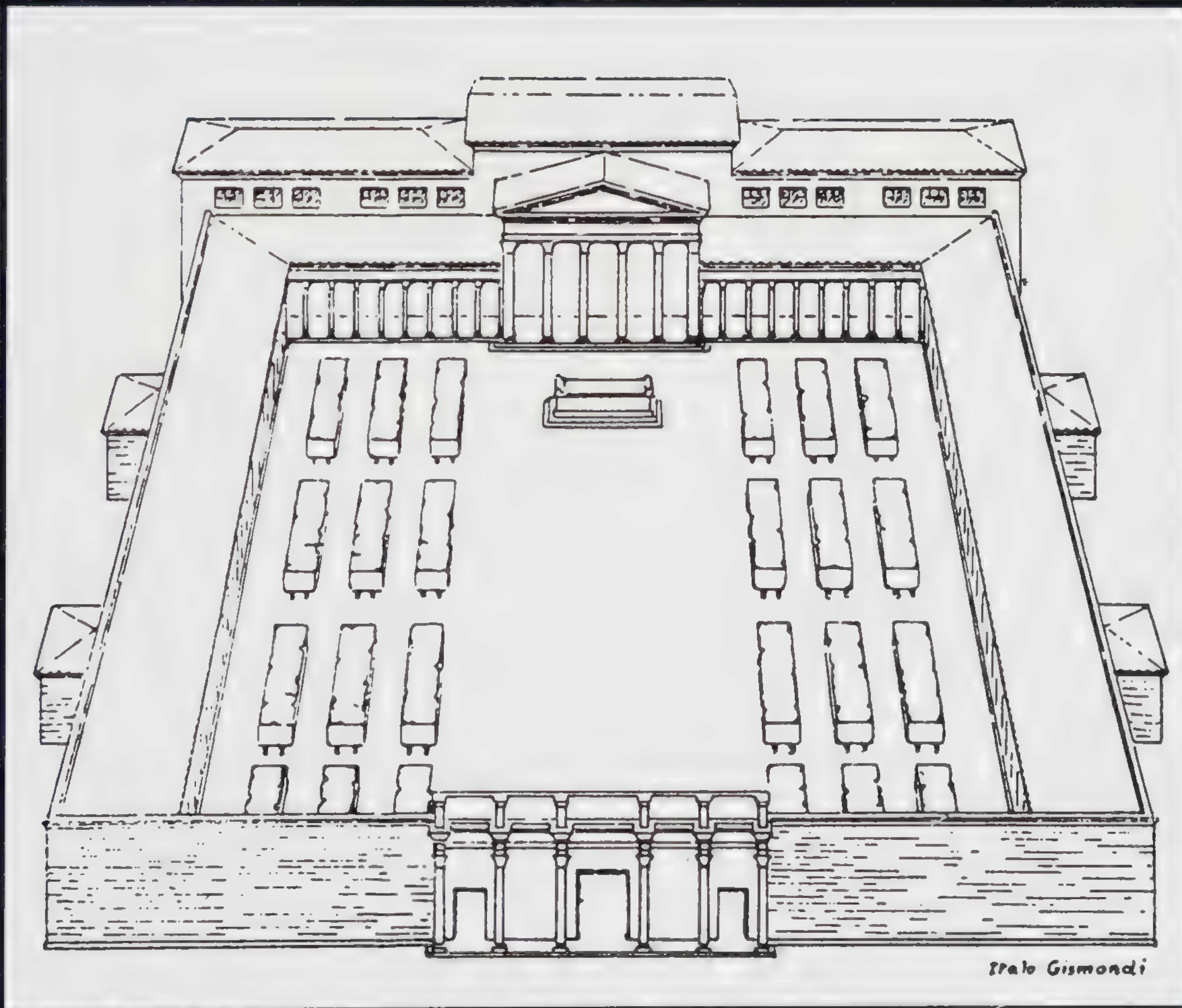
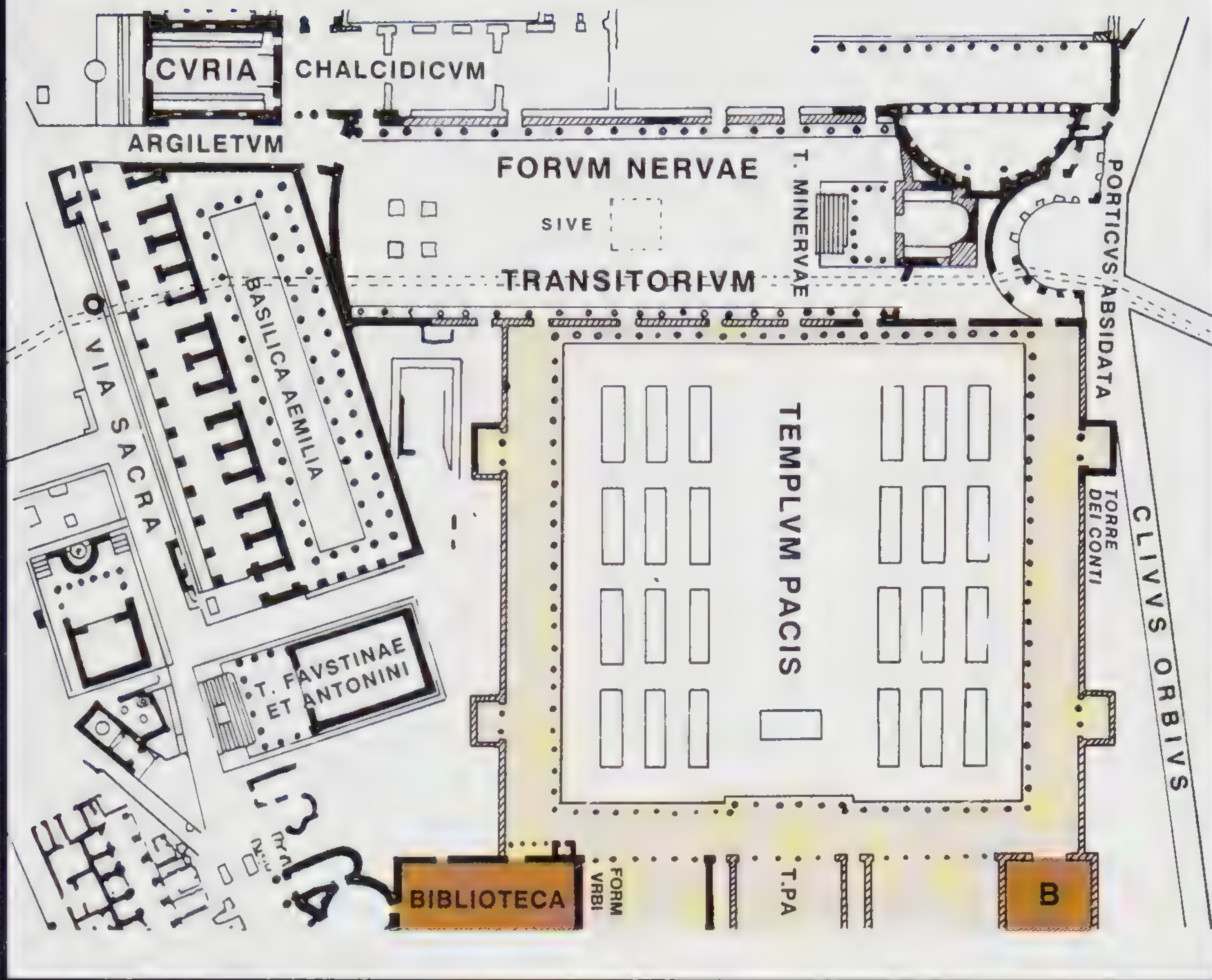
for public viewing, doubtless contained the archives that Vespasian undertook to restore, that is the three thousand bronze tablets destroyed by fire:⁷² as Suetonius explains, they were the priceless records of decrees of the Senate, acts of the People, treaties of alliance and special privileges granted to individuals, and the Emperor gave orders that every effort was to be made to find copies to replace them. Another instance of Vespasian's attachment to the written tradition is to be seen in the fact that

he was the first to establish a regular salary for Roman and Greek teachers of rhetoric, paid from the privy purse.⁷³

Just before the death of Commodus, in 191, it would appear that the Temple of Peace was largely destroyed by fire, and Galen's invaluable medical writings were among the many books lost in the conflagration.⁷⁴ The Forum of Vespasian was rebuilt by Septimius Severus. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Temple of Peace was still one of the ornaments of the city in the fourth century;⁷⁵ and evidently its library was still functioning, as we can infer from the *Historia Augusta*.⁷⁶

8. Plan of the Forum of the Temple of Peace, after a drawing by L. Lugli.

9. Reconstruction of the Forum of the Temple of Peace, after a drawing by I. Gismondi.



Stato Gismondi

Domitian and his attitude to books. Under Domitian, who ascended the imperial throne in A.D. 81 and reigned until his death in 96, the official attitude to books reverted to what it had been under Augustus and Tiberius, and there were some flatterers who wrote in praise of propagandistic literature and censorship. It is significant that he was said to have read nothing but the memoirs and *res gestae* of Tiberius.⁷⁷ It is true that he instituted competitions in prose declamation in Greek and Latin, but he perpetrated hideous atrocities against men of letters to punish them for intentionally ambiguous passages in their writings. For example, he put Hermogenes of Tarsus to death because of some allusions in his *History* and even crucified the slaves who had written it out.⁷⁸ He passed the death sentence on the politician and Stoic philosopher Quintus Junius Arulenus Rusticus because he had wished to veto the Senate's conviction of Paetus Thrasea and had eulogized him in the biography he wrote after his death.⁷⁹ As if all that were not enough, he banished all philosophers from Rome and the whole of Italy yet again – one more such occasion in the history of Rome.⁸⁰ He ordered the assassination of the dramatist Helvidius Priscus for some supposed innuendoes against the Emperor in his play *Paris and Oenone*, though Domitian himself was the only person to interpret the words in that way.⁸¹ Finally, he condemned to death his own secretary, Epaphroditus (a namesake of one of the biggest private book-collectors of his day), because he could not forgive him for having assisted Nero to commit suicide when he had occupied the same position in Nero's court.⁸²

It was Domitian's ambition to be considered a patron of literature, and to that end he carried about with him a map of the world drawn on vellum and a book containing speeches of kings and generals taken from Livy.⁸³ He supported the concept of patronage – indeed, he signalled his favour towards any writer who was skilful in drafting imperial propaganda – and fostered a sense of cultural awareness, himself demonstrating the universality of its application by means of his magnificent palace. He invited Statius to dinner on the Palatine, in company with a group of senators and high-ranking dignitaries, and the poet responded by describing the occasion as 'a taste of Olympus, a never-to-be-forgotten taste of godhead'. And then, in a gesture of respect for the Emperor, Statius painted a word portrait of the ruler in his epic poem the *Thebaid*.⁸⁴ Martial, too, eulogized the Emperor and praised certain persons in Domitian's entourage who had influenced him. Books VIII

10. View of the Forum of Rome. Print from J. von Falke, *Hellas und Rom*....

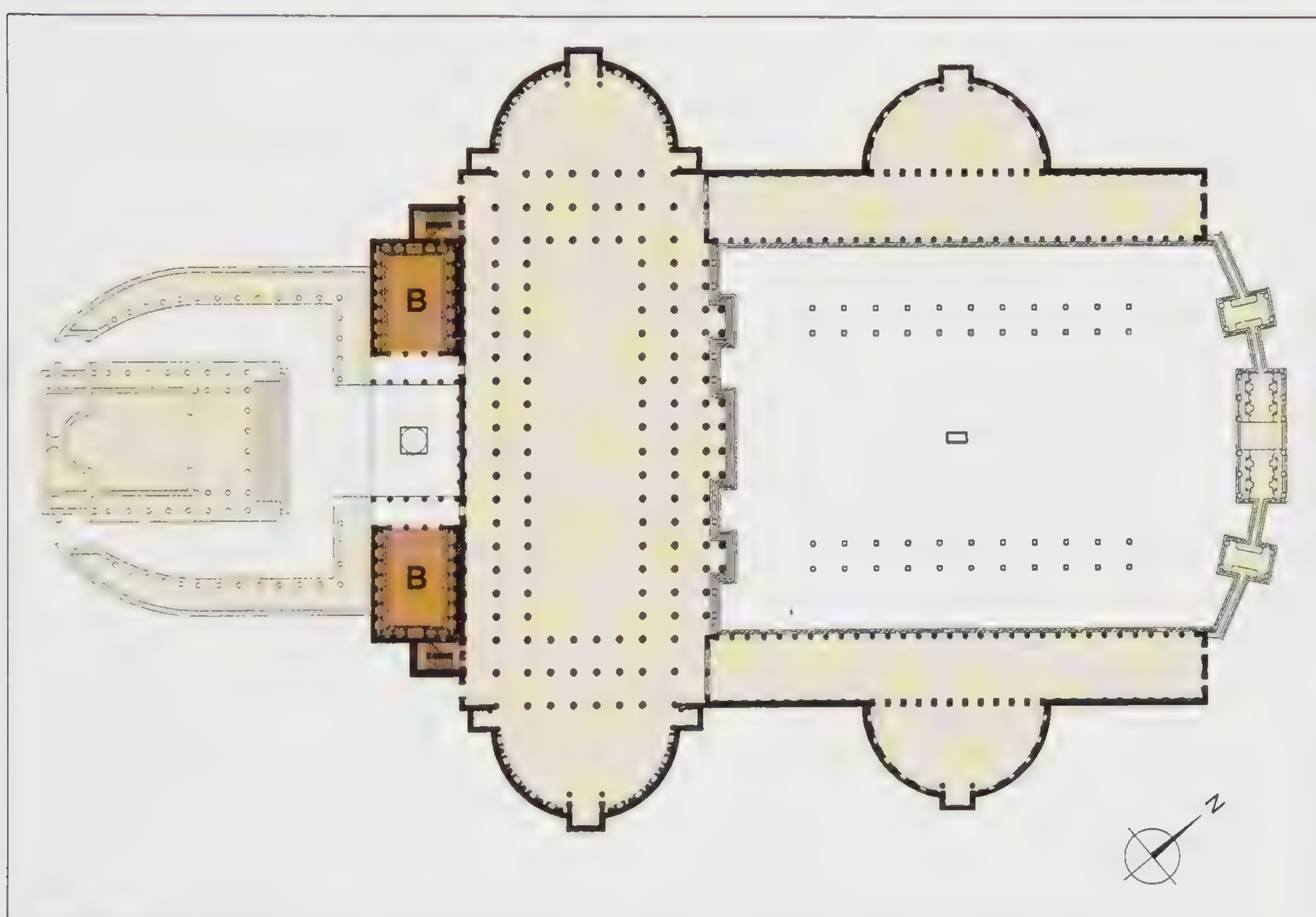


and IX of Martial's *Epigrams* might be described as 'the Domitian books': indeed, in order to win favour, the poet went so far as to make friends with a rogue like Aquilius Regulus, as we have seen.⁸⁵

On the other hand, when Domitian set about restoring the imperial complex on the Palatine, he did (as already mentioned) rebuild Augustus's libraries which had been destroyed by the great fire in Titus's reign (A.D. 80).⁸⁶ And in his efforts to restore their contents, as Suetonius informs us, he sent scribes to Alexandria either to make new copies or to buy other copies of the lost books wherever they could be found.⁸⁷ Given that Domitian commissioned Rabirius to design the imperial living quarters, it is reasonable to suppose that his designs were also used for the reconstruction of the libraries, even if he did follow the general lines and style given to them by the architect whom Augustus had employed.⁸⁸

The intellectual environment and Trajan's library in the Forum. The last of the large, important libraries to be built in ancient Rome, erected on the initiative of Emperor Trajan (98-117), coincided with the beginning of a new phase in the history of Latin literature and Roman intellectual life, which was to last until the time of Constantine the Great. Domitian's expulsion of the philosophers from Rome was the last: under Trajan, not only did Dio Cocceianus return from Prusa but philosophy was welcomed into the court and came to be one of the foundations of imperial authority and power. Hadrian, for example, not many years later, gave asylum to teachers of philosophy and incidentally established the tradition of the bearded philosopher king. Thus Seneca's vision of the ideal monarch whose life is ruled by Stoic principles⁸⁹ came nearer to realization. In this climate men of letters started moving towards Christianity, which they considered to be the continuation and consummation of ancient philosophy, as the Stoics – and later the Neoplatonists – maintained. Against this intellectual background, with Latin literature visibly in recession and writers of the calibre of Tertullian and Apuleius becoming ever fewer, Rome's standing as an intellectual powerhouse declined, though she remained the most important centre for the preservation of the Graeco-Roman heritage. Strenuous efforts were made to sustain what had been achieved, great libraries were built in other parts of the Empire, and in Rome itself Hadrian founded the first state-run university, the Athenaeum.⁹⁰ The cultural map of the world became bilingual and, as Juvenal comments wryly and plaintively, Rome had been turned into a Greek city.

The year 112 saw the inauguration of the last imperial forum in Rome and the grandest of them all, in the construction of which three emperors had a share: Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian. On Domitian's initiative and probably on the advice of Rabirius,⁹¹ an expanse of land was levelled between the Capitol and the Quirinal: this involved flattening the low embankments that had previously linked the two hills. Trajan and his inspired architect, Apollodorus of Damascus,⁹² conceived the architectural design of the forum and proceeded to put it into practice, and they also built Trajan's porticoes, basilica, libraries and column.⁹³ Hadrian added to the forum a funerary monument to the deified Trajan, and it was probably he who commissioned the historic frieze of Trajan's Column, at the base of which Trajan's ashes were interred in 117.⁹⁴



11. Plan of Trajan's Forum, after a drawing by D. Silenzi.

Trajan's Forum occupied an area about 300 metres long and 185 metres wide, oriented on an east-west axis. It was entered through a triumphal arch in the middle of the slightly curved front wall which, at its north and south ends, formed a corner with the side walls: the latter were straight, but half-way along each there was a semicircular exedra. The triumphal arch led into a quadrangle with a roofed colonnaded gallery along the west wall (the far wall, facing the

*Trajan's
Forum*

entrance) and the two side walls, and an equestrian statue of Emperor Trajan in the centre. The west wall formed part of the façade of a magnificent basilica – the Basilica Ulpia, the biggest ever built in the Roman period – oriented at right angles to the longitudinal axis of the forum.⁹⁵ The west wall of the basilica was a partition wall separating it from the twin libraries, which were positioned symmetrically on either side of Trajan's Column; the column itself lay on the longitudinal axis of the forum. Fronting each of the two libraries was another roofed colonnade, connecting on the west side with the colonnade that ran round the inside of the west courtyard. The far end of that courtyard was rounded off in an approximate semicircle, with the Temple of the Deified Trajan interposed between the north and south arms of the colonnade as they curved towards each other. This was an octastyle peripteral temple situated exactly opposite the triumphal arch. A characteristic feature of the whole design was its absolute symmetry in every particular. The ornate decoration of the colonnades and basilica, with the marble wall facings and the paintings and sculptures of prisoners captured in the war in Dacia, was intended to glorify the Emperor's power. In the fourth century the Forum of Trajan and all its buildings were still as magnificent as ever, to judge by Ammianus Marcellinus's account of the admiration it aroused in Emperor Constantius on his first visit.⁹⁶

Trajan's double library, which perfectly exemplifies the bilingualism of Roman civilization, was probably opened by Hadrian and was called *bibliothecae Divi Traiani*.⁹⁷ (For a description of its architectural style see the chapter on Library Architecture.) Considering the importance of this library and the role of the Forum of Trajan in everyday life in Rome, remarkably little information is to be found about it in ancient literature: this is all the more surprising inasmuch as it was the only one in Rome to escape the fate that befell so many libraries, that of destruction by fire. We know the names of only two of its users: one was Gellius, who relates how he was looking for something else in the *bibliotheca templi Traiani* (as he calls it) when he happened to come across the edicts of the praetors of old, which he decided to read;⁹⁸ and the other was one of the authors of the *Historia Augusta*, a historian of the final period of Roman literature writing probably in the closing decades of the fourth century, who records that among other things he consulted the *libri lintei* of Emperor Aurelian⁹⁹ and the *libri elephantini* of

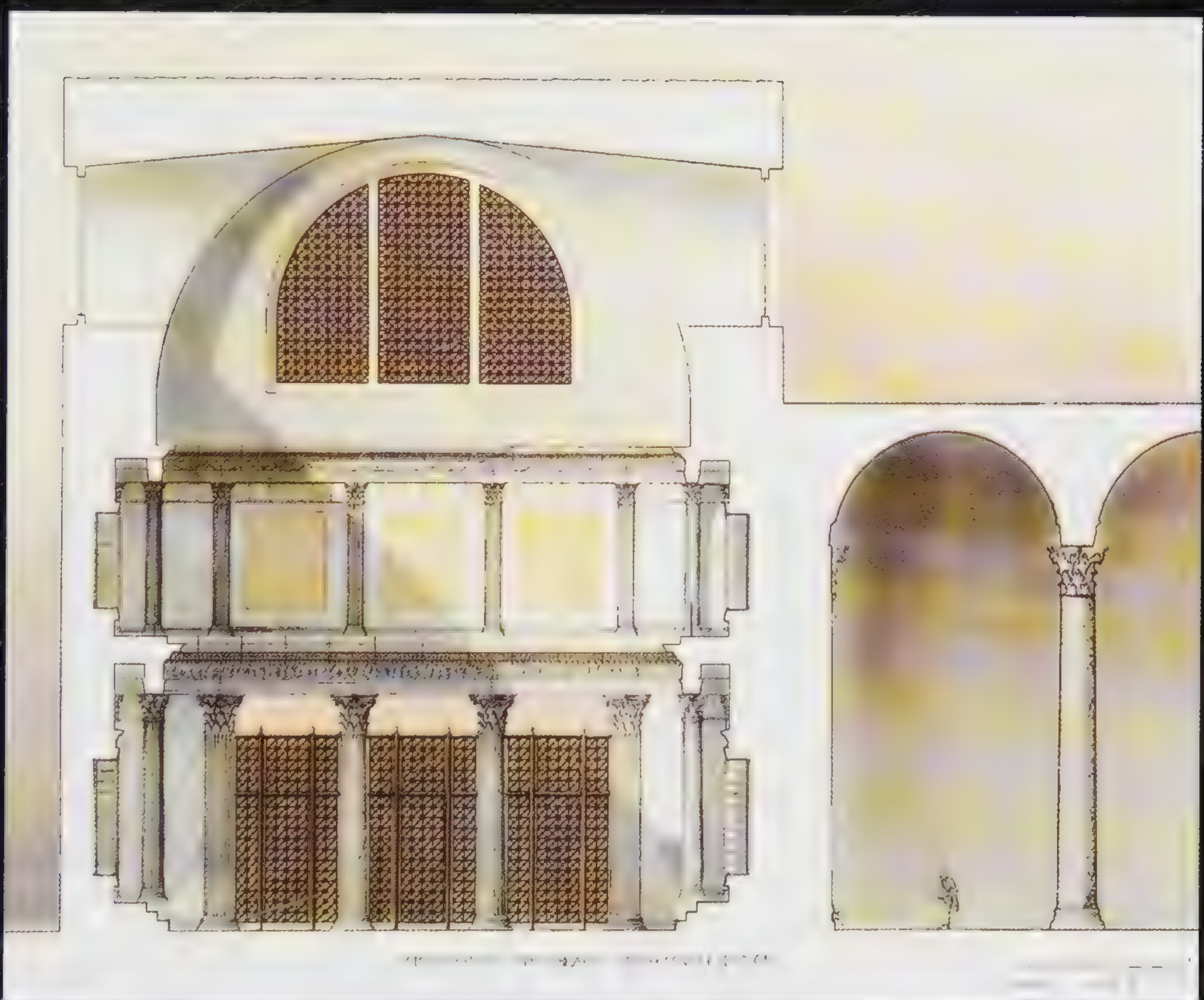
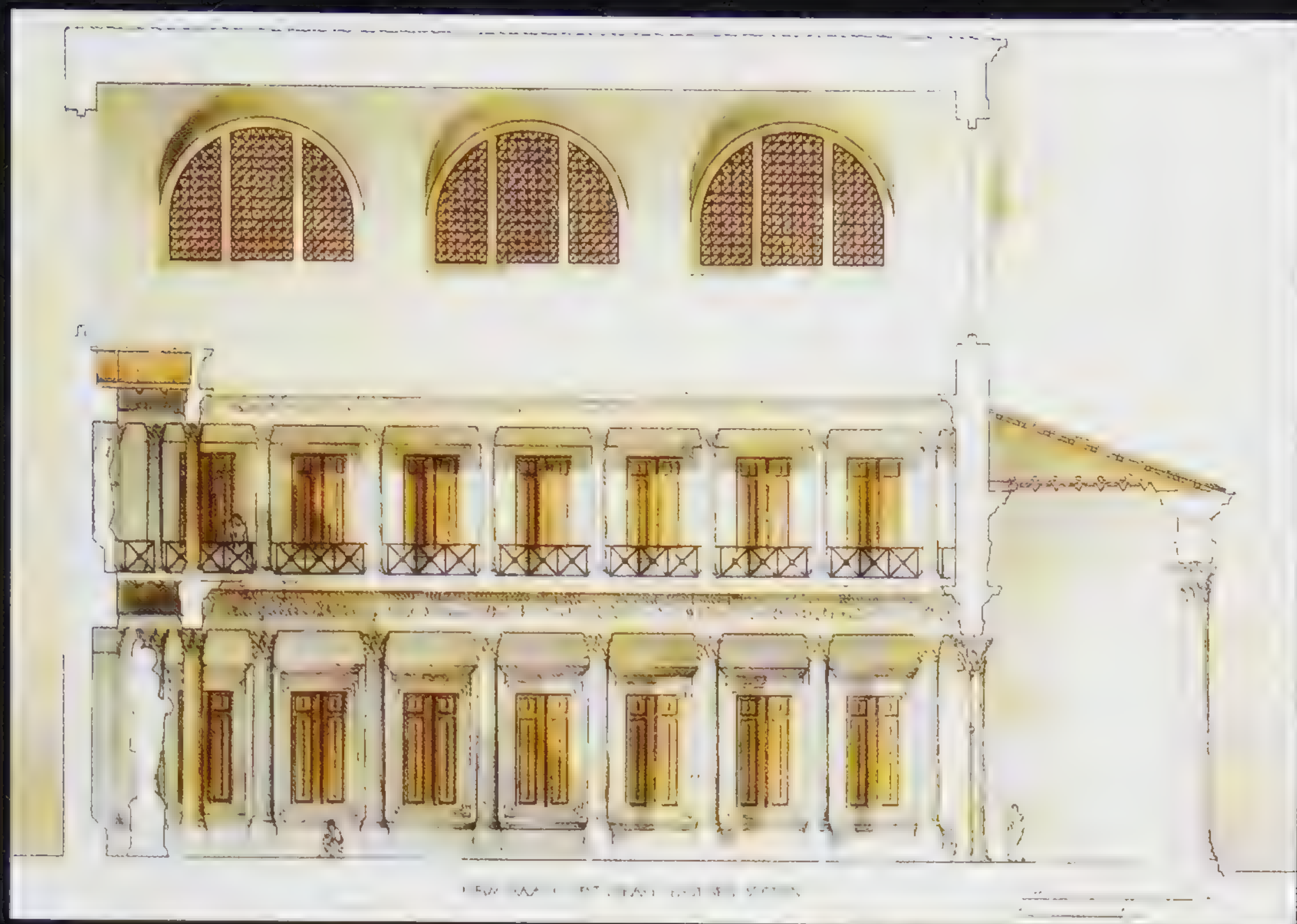
12. Reconstruction of the north wall of the Basilica Ulpia, after the drawings by Julien Guadet (1867), from Ruins of Ancient Rome.



Emperor Tacitus¹⁰⁰ – and he even gives the number of the bookcase (*armarium*) where he had found the book in question. Another thing we know about the library is that at some time, for reasons unknown, some or all of the books from the library had been temporarily transferred to the great Baths of Diocletian and subsequently restored to their original location by the time of Sidonius Apollinaris in the fifth century.¹⁰¹ We are also told that on the 1st of January, 465, Sidonius delivered a panegyric on Emperor Avitus and was rewarded by having a bust of himself placed in each of the two sections of Trajan's library among those of other more famous writers.¹⁰²

The fact that no emperor took the initiative of linking his name with a new forum or a new public library is due, in my opinion, to political reasons. From the second century onwards Rome's position as the hub of the Empire gradually declined and the emperors found that their presence was required more and more often in the threatened frontier provinces. As early as the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) barbarian incursions into northern Italy were becoming more menacing and the imperial collection of precious stones was sold off to raise funds for the wars against the Marcomanni.¹⁰³ A horde of German tribesmen, the Herulians, sacked Athens in 267, Dacia was lost and the Persians captured Antioch. In view of these threats it was decided that Rome needed to be protected by stout fortification walls. Meanwhile the provinces were gradually given more autonomy and their power increased, and there was a revival of the old cultural and intellectual centres of the Mediterranean basin such as Carthage, where the great Latin novelist Apuleius lived in isolation from the literary circles of Rome. In the early part of the fourth century, Trier was developed as an imperial city and was transformed into a second Rome and Gaul came to prominence as a bastion of cultural and intellectual life in the Late Roman period, while entire regions of what is now France – the areas around Lyon, Marseille, Arles, Nîmes and Toulouse – were Romanized. It should be added that in the changed political and cultural environment of the Mediterranean new libraries were built in the Roman provinces: some of them, such as Hadrian's Library in Athens and the Library of Celsus in Ephesus, were monumental in scale.¹⁰⁴ Consequently it was no longer necessary for an aspiring writer or student to go all the way to Rome to study the great works of Greek and Roman literature: in fact, by about the fourth century, we are informed by the sources that the principal centres of

13-14. Vertical section of one of the twin libraries and its north wall. Drawing by James E. Packer.



the trade in books by Christian writers were the cultural centres of the East, namely Antioch, Carthage, Constantinople and Alexandria.¹⁰⁵

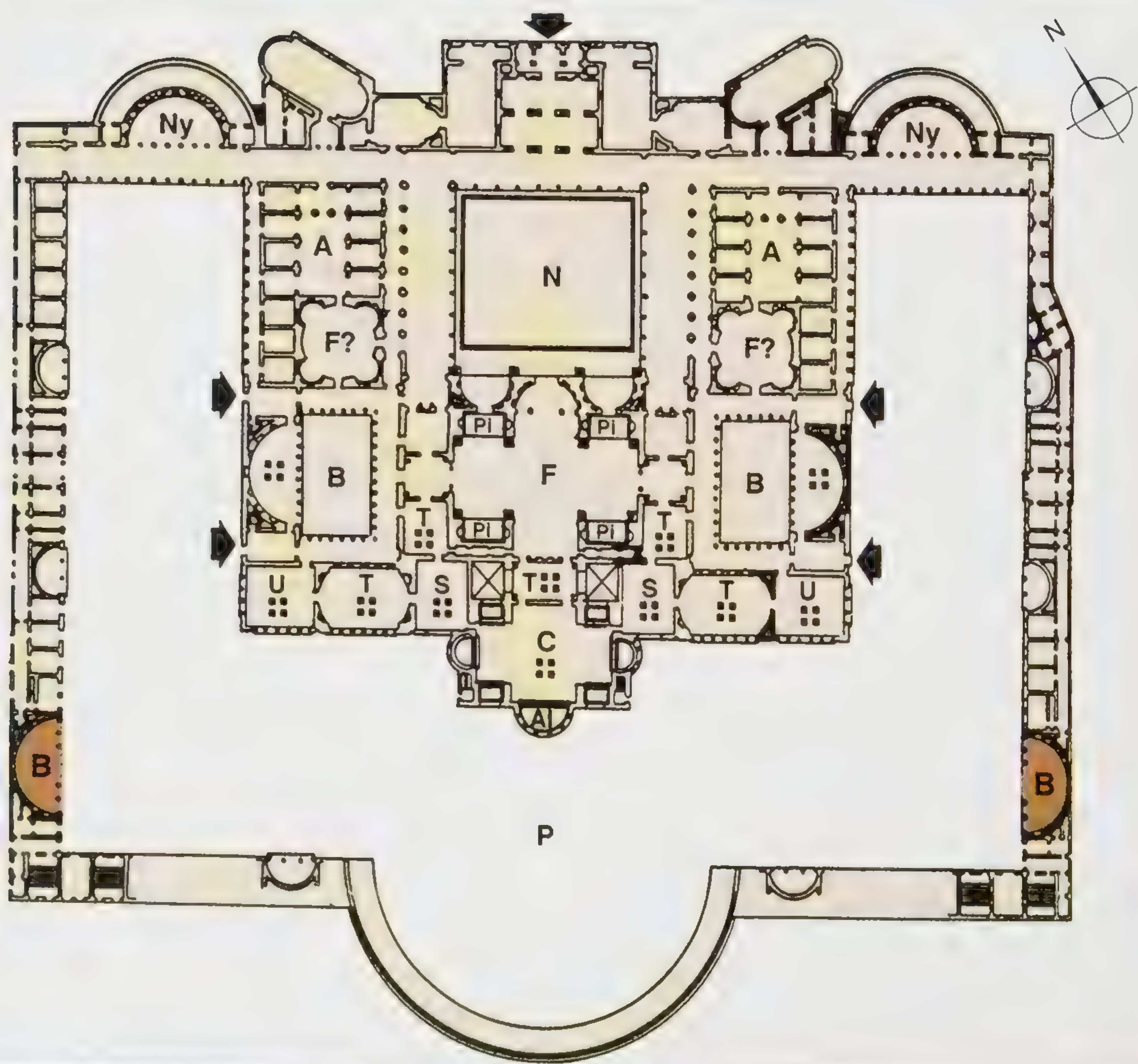
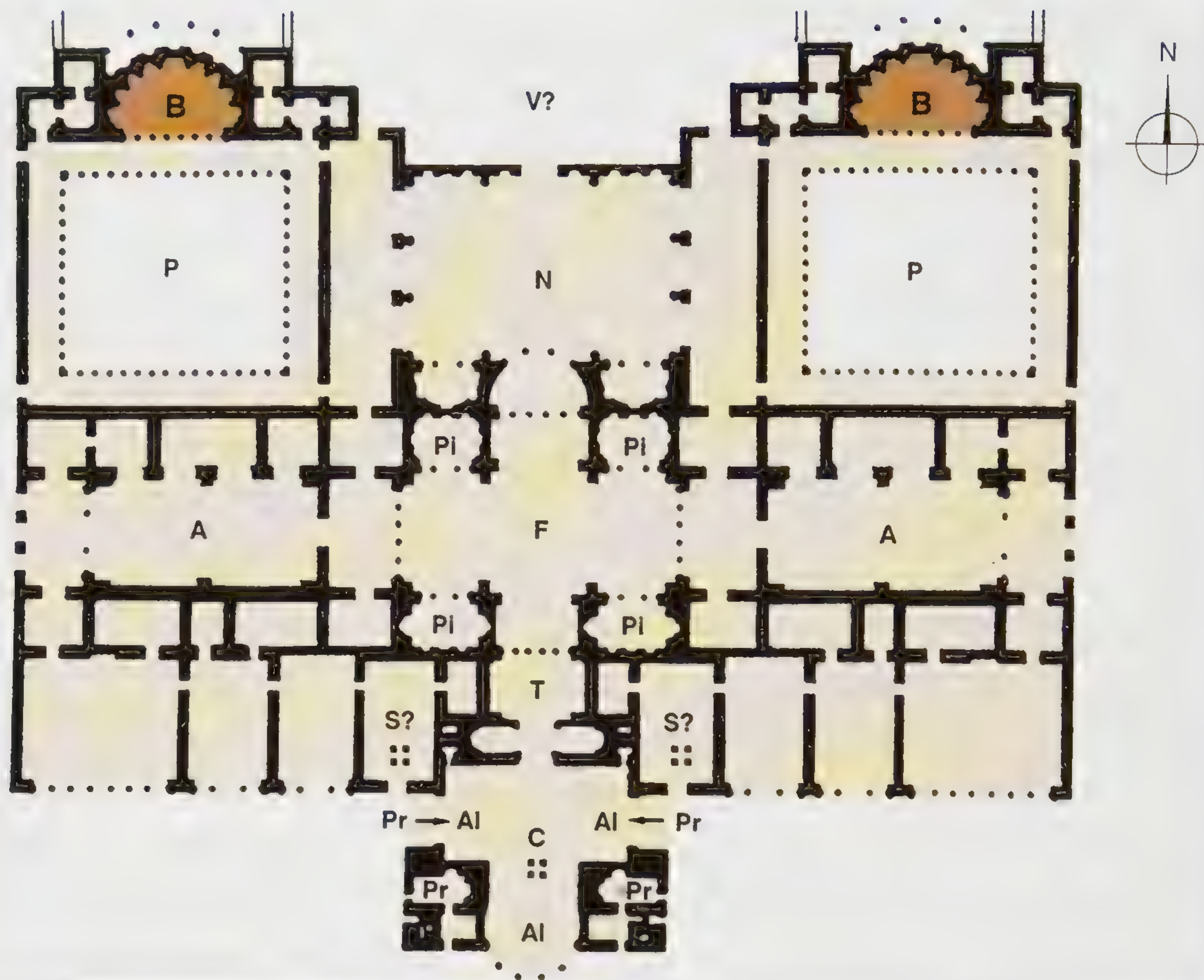
Libraries in the imperial baths in Rome. The bath-houses erected as public buildings in the city centres – buildings of the type that archaeologists call ‘Roman baths’ – were originally conceived as places for public hygiene and hydrotherapy.¹⁰⁶ However, from the time of the last Caesars, and more especially from Nero’s reign, the *Thermae Neronianae* in Rome started developing into large establishments with facilities for the human mind as well as the human body. This being so, in the new, monumental imperial baths one would find the philosophy of the ancient Greek gymnasia coexisting with Roman mores concerning hygiene and entertainment¹⁰⁷ such as palaestrae, theatres, concert halls (*odea*), large and small pools of cold and hot water (the frigidarium and the caldarium), a hall for physical exercise – and libraries.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Nero instituted new festivals of games as well as other festivals and artistic events in an attempt to involve the young and the aristocracy actively in such activities by giving them an opportunity to express themselves as actors. Like some latter-day Apollo, he reintroduced the musical and athletic values characteristic of Greek festivals of games, hoping in this way to create a new generation that would communicate with the monarchy through the medium of public spectacles. Thus it was that these mental and physical competitions gave the public baths and similar establishments their political dimension.¹⁰⁹

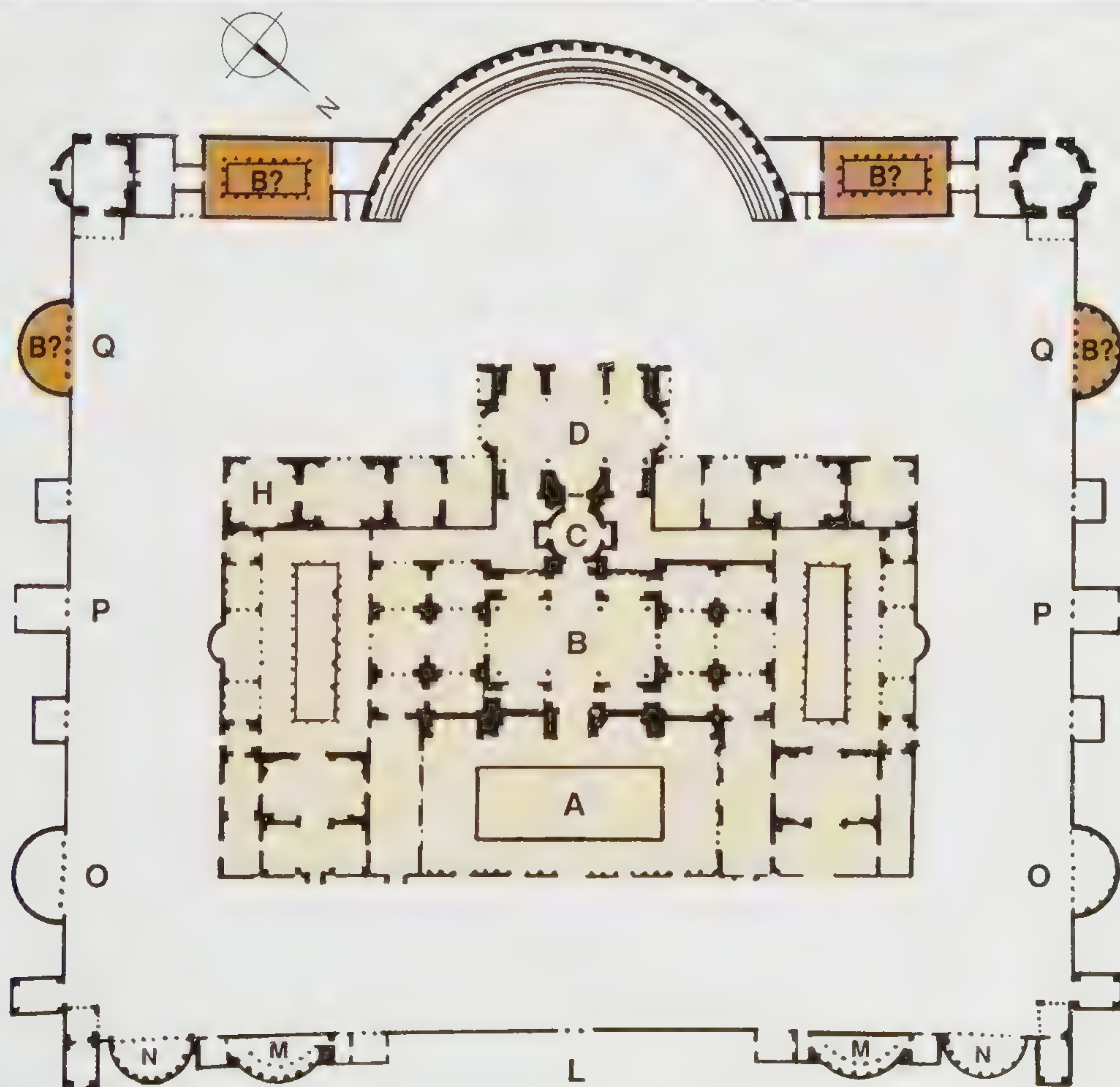
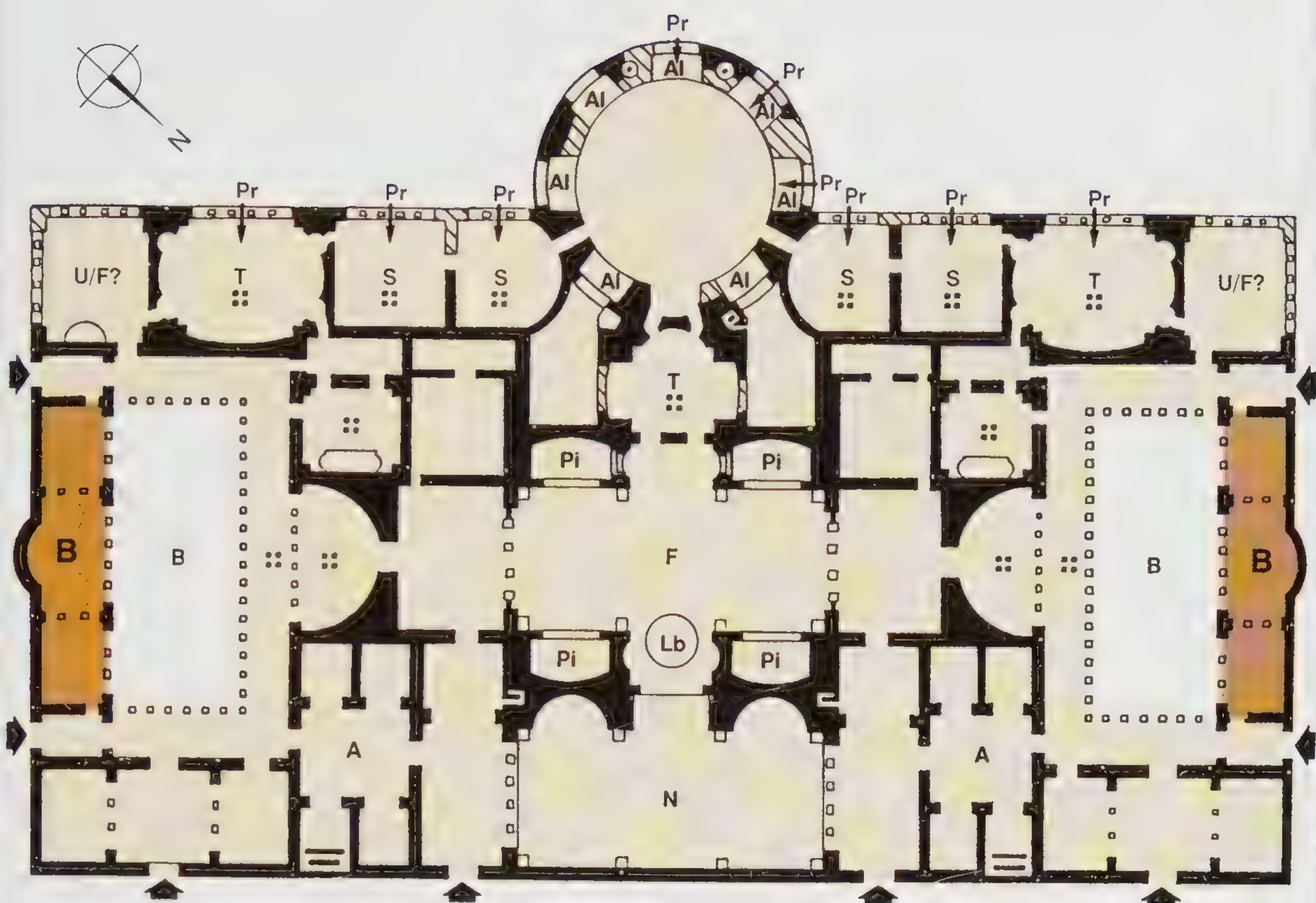
Libraries in the Baths of Nero. According to ancient sources, the Baths of Nero were opened in A.D. 64 and covered an area of 16,000 square metres. The few archaeological finds that have come to light belong to the reconstruction of the baths by the architects of Alexander Severus in the early third century. However, the drawings made by Palladio reveal certain unusual features suggesting that the original design of the *Thermae Neronianae* was not altered during the subsequent rebuilding.¹¹⁰ Here for the first time we find an architectural conception characterized by axonometric symmetry both in the design and in the use of the rooms. The frigidarium occupied a central place in the whole building. On either side of that, to the north, were two square palaestrae, each with a peristyle. North of them, and exactly on the axis of the corresponding side of the palaestra, there was a semicircular exedra bounded on the south by the peristyle of the palaestra. This exedra appears to have been indented with a series of small niches which were perhaps used as

bookcases. In the middle of the row there was a larger alcove which may have held a statue of a god or goddess or the library's imperial founder, this being standard practice in libraries. A flight of steps or benches presumably served as seating, so that the exedra could be used as a lecture hall: if this hypothesis is correct, the anonymous architect was the first to introduce a typology for imperial bathing establishments that was followed to a large extent by all designers of bath-houses from Nero's time to that of Diocletian.¹¹¹

Libraries in the Baths of Trajan. The Baths of Trajan¹¹² were built partly on the ruins of Nero's *Domus Aurea*. Opened in 109, they represent the final stage in the evolution of these Roman edifices, as the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian are superior only in terms of size and luxury. They were designed by Apollodorus of Damascus¹¹³ and laid out absolutely symmetrically around a central axis, with the caldarium, tepidarium and frigidarium forming the backbone of the building. Along the outer side walls, at the ends of a row of small rooms (changing-rooms, bathrooms and so on), were two semicircular 'libraries'.¹¹⁴ Here again, symmetrically placed on either side of a central apse that probably held a statue, there were niches that contained book boxes in two tiers. The library was also equipped with an exedra in the shape of an ancient theatre, opening off the lower level of the library, and a gallery reached by an internal staircase.¹¹⁵ These libraries, of course, which were protected by a colonnade on the side of the interior court, were not intended primarily for reading and research, but rather as auditoriums for public readings, poetry competitions and political and literary debates and discussions. Trajan's twin libraries most probably, though not necessarily, constituted a bilingual library.

Libraries in the Baths of Caracalla. The construction of the next large imperial bathing establishment was started by Caracalla (211-217) and completed under Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus (222-235).¹¹⁶ One has only to look at the ground plan of the *Thermae Antoninianae* (the official name of the Baths of Caracalla) to see that it was a gigantic complex: in fact it covered an area of 25,000 square metres. It was dominated by the two vaulted roofs of the symmetrical rectangular side rooms and the octagonal hall on the axis of the central building. The libraries in the Baths of Caracalla were in two rooms of identical dimensions, in this case rectangular, lying exactly opposite each other on either side of the frigidarium.¹¹⁷ These libraries opened on to a colonnade and thence on to the great court surrounding the central block of





the baths, and they were on two levels. On the axis of each room, on the lower level, there was an alcove containing a statue of the Emperor or a god or goddess. An exedra built along the bookcases served functional purposes and was also used as a reading room. Of the small spaces round the outside of each library room, one was the well of the staircase leading up to the gallery and the others were auxiliary offices.

Libraries in the Baths of Diocletian. The monumental imperial edifice of the Baths of Diocletian was built at the very end of the third century (298-306) by Constantius Chlorus and Maximian in honour of Emperor Diocletian (284-305), the founder of the Tetrarchy.¹¹⁸ It is remarkable for its size and its astonishingly rich ornamentation; in its architectural conception and design it resembled the Baths of Caracalla. These baths, which remained in use in their original form down to the sixth century, underwent repeated modifications throughout the Middle Ages, but no major alterations were made until 1500, when Michelangelo was commissioned to build a Renaissance church on the ruins of the basilica in the main building of the complex.¹¹⁹ The architect who designed the Baths of Diocletian followed the typology set by Apollodorus for imperial baths, but he also borrowed some basic functional elements from the Baths of Caracalla, notably with respect to the peribolus of the central building. Since the remains of the Baths of Diocletian are almost entirely limited to the central building, the location of the rooms used as libraries is a matter of conjecture. They could have been the two rectangular rooms flanking the theatre, exactly on the south side of the main axis of the whole complex. On the other hand, as Elżbieta Makowiecka maintains, they may have been the two semicircular rooms directly opposite the main axis, abutting the west and east walls, in accordance with the architectural conception of Apollodorus of Damascus as applied in the Baths of Trajan. This hypothesis is supported by the sketch drawn by Lugli, a sixteenth-century traveller, which shows the baths in a different state of preservation from that of today.¹²⁰ As for the actual



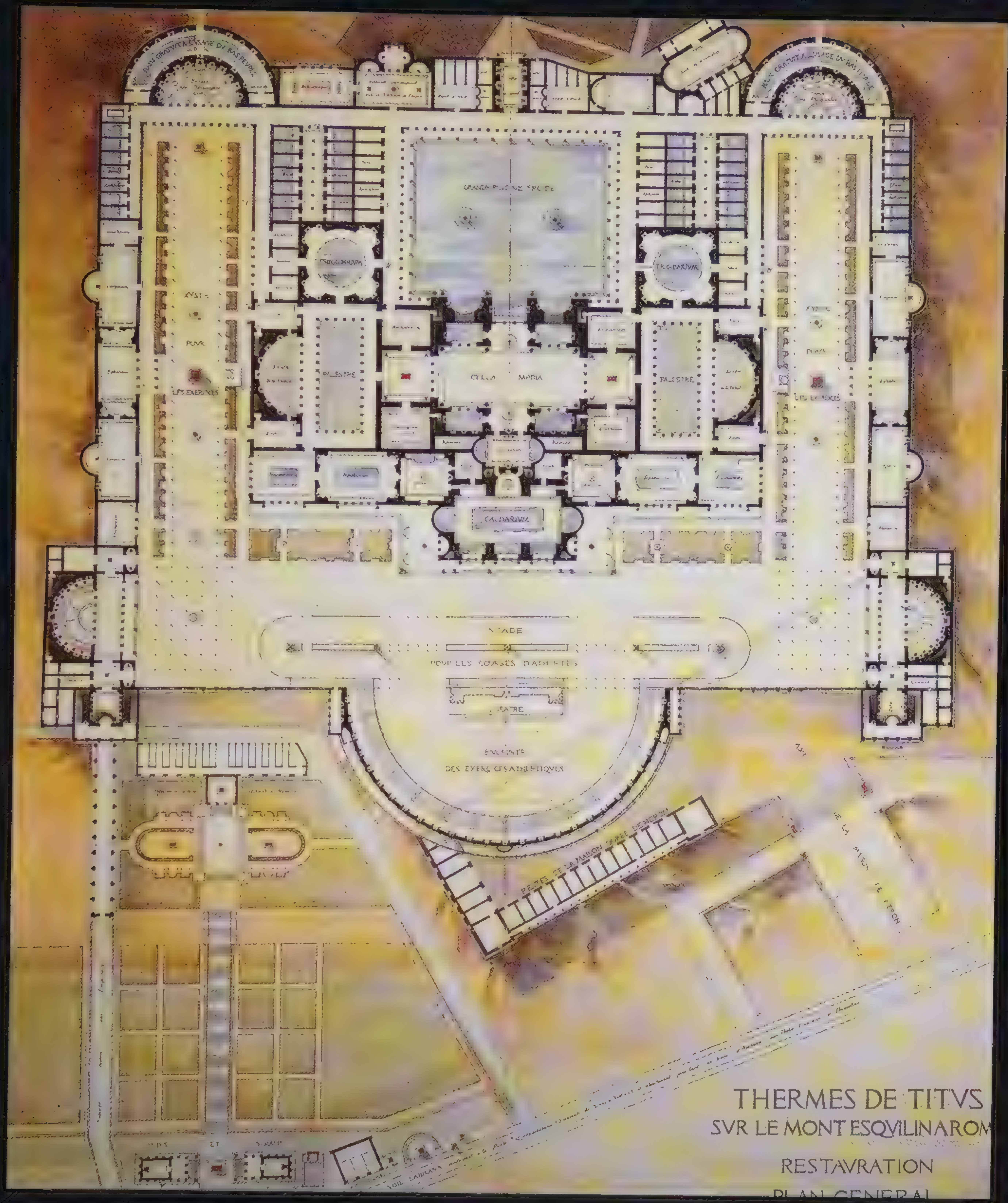
15. *Plan of the Baths of Nero after a drawing by Palladio, reworked by D. Krencker and I. Nielsen.*

16. *Plan of the Baths of Trajan. Drawing by C. Anderson.*

17. *Plan of the Baths of Caracalla. Drawing by D. Krencker and I. Nielsen.*

18. *Plan of the Baths of Diocletian. Drawing by G. Lugli.*

19. *The Baths of Titus (Trajan) according to the plan drawn by Charles Alfred Leclerc (1871-1872), from Ruins of Ancient Rome.*

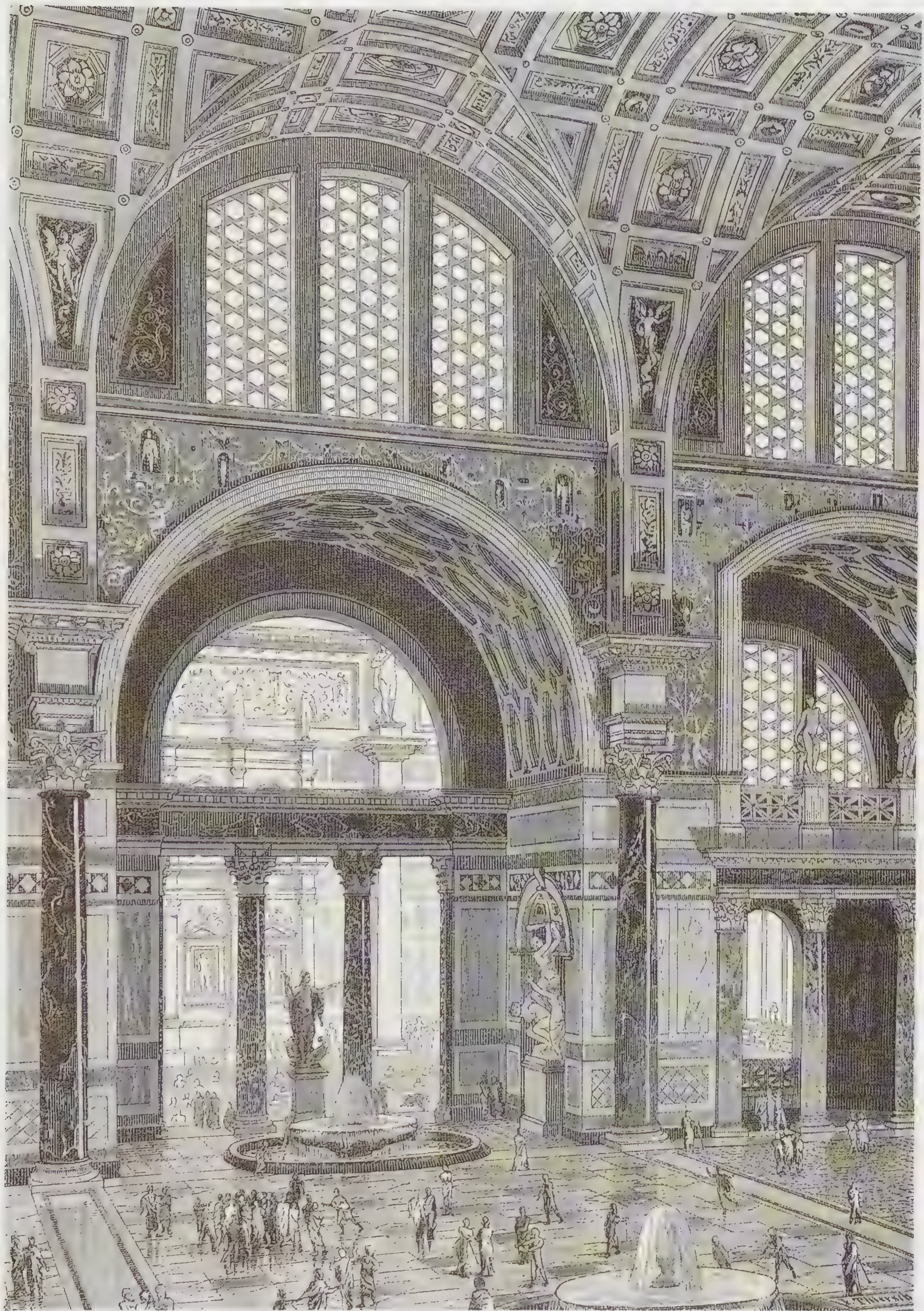


existence of a working library in the baths, the solitary literary reference to it is the one already mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*.¹²¹

Private libraries in the provinces and in Rome. We have already seen how the first private book collections – those of Aemilius Paullus, Lucullus, Sulla and Pompey – were brought to Rome as spoils from the victorious wars in the East; and we have looked briefly at the factors that led so many aristocrats and men of letters to acquire country villas to which they could escape from the hazards of the civil wars.¹²² And by studying Cicero's literary friendship with Atticus through the prism of their voluminous correspondence, we have a picture of the quality of life sought by Romans – especially writers and thinkers – in the period of the internal troubles: stress-free living far from the proscriptions and political intrigues of the capital, close to nature, with books and their inexhaustible supply of knowledge and wisdom for company. Thus it was that from the late second century B.C., with Scipio Africanus creating a *modus vivendi* by electing to retire from the political stage and live in his famous villa at Liternum, an ever-increasing number of the aristocracy followed his example. D'Arms lists forty-four villas built along the coast from Cumae to Surrentum (Sorrento) between 75 and 31 B.C.¹²³ At first in Campania – where the Bay of Naples developed into an *urbs* (from being *ager Campanus* to being *ager publicus populi Romani*) – and later all over Italy, a new way of life came into being in these villas. In fact the design of the villas was specifically tailored to just such a way of life, for they were luxuriously comfortable houses set in grounds where the splendid buildings – palaestrae, music rooms, gymnasiums, courtyards and all kinds of other structures – were integrated with the natural surroundings. Thus their owners had the self-sufficiency they wanted and were able to satisfy every possible intellectual demand and desire of the friends they entertained there. 'The Greek way of life' was what they admired and sought to reproduce by means of *voluptas*, *luxuria* and *amoenitas*.¹²⁴

Archaeological excavations in the numerous villas in Italy – including such famous and perfectly-preserved examples as the Villa of the Papyri, the Villa of the Mysteries and the Villa of Diomedes at Herculaneum and Pompeii – have shed a good deal of light on their architectural design and even their mural decoration, but not enough to give us a clear picture of their libraries,

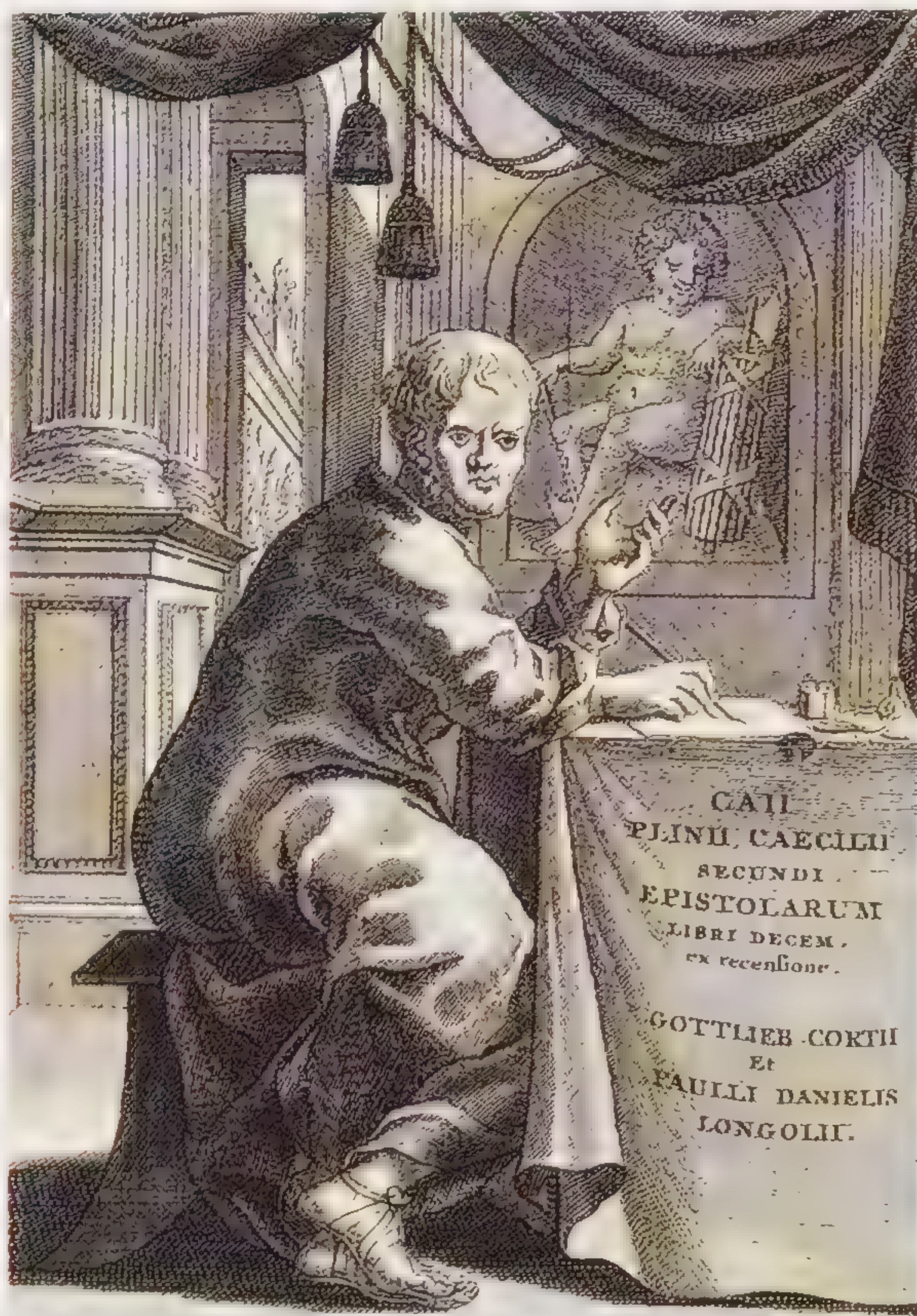
20. *The Baths of Caracalla. Print from J. von Falke, Hellas und Rom....*



with particular reference to the furniture and fittings. Naturally enough, inflammable materials and fragile portable structures are the most vulnerable to the ravages of time, and so it is impossible to identify the rooms that were used as libraries and reading rooms in the villas. Even the letters of Pliny, who wrote at length about his villas, are not as enlightening as we could wish.

Pliny the Younger (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus) was born at Comum in A.D. 61 or 62 and, as he himself tells us, he chose to bequeath his library to his native town.¹²⁵ On his father's death he was adopted by Pliny the Elder,

his uncle on his mother's side. He studied under Quintilian in Rome and then served in the army as a *tribunus militum*. While serving in Syria, he attended the philosophy lectures of Euphrates and Artemidorus.¹²⁶ He held many high offices, including that of imperial legate to Bithynia, and was proud of the fact that he had the title of *augur*, as Cicero had done. His friends included Tacitus, Statius, Suetonius and Martial.¹²⁷ In his letters he sketches the world and society he lived in, presenting us with the profile of a man who unhesitatingly put his talents and his fortune at the service of his friends and his country.¹²⁸ He owned several villas, some of which he lived in while others he merely kept in good condition,¹²⁹ and he gives us a certain amount of useful information in his description of the library



21. An engraving of Pliny the Younger in his library. Frontispiece of *C. Plinius Secundus, Epistolarum...*, Amsterdam, 1734.

and reading and sitting rooms in his villa at Laurentum.¹³⁰ This seaside home of his was so arranged that he and his close friends could enjoy hours of reading and studying or simply relaxation (*otium*). This villa had atria, peristyle courtyards and porticoes laid out on either side of a central axis, with internal corridors connecting and protecting the bedrooms and sitting rooms, some of which looked out over the sea and others over the idyllic countryside round about. In it Pliny had at least two rooms which he used as libraries. One of them, which was D-shaped (*cubiculum in hapsida curvatum*), with windows so placed as to catch the sun throughout the day, was fitted out as

a library with wall cupboards and contained books by little-read writers (philosophical and other specialized treatises). Projecting from the main body of the villa at the head of the rectangular central peristyle courtyard was a self-contained suite of rooms designed by Pliny himself, which was his favourite spot (*amores mei*). It might almost be described as a villa in miniature and commanded a panoramic view. There Pliny could retire into seclusion even during the Saturnalia, when the whole house was bursting with life, 'for then I do not interfere with their amusements, and they do not distract me from my studies.' No doubt he had in this suite a copying room, a reading



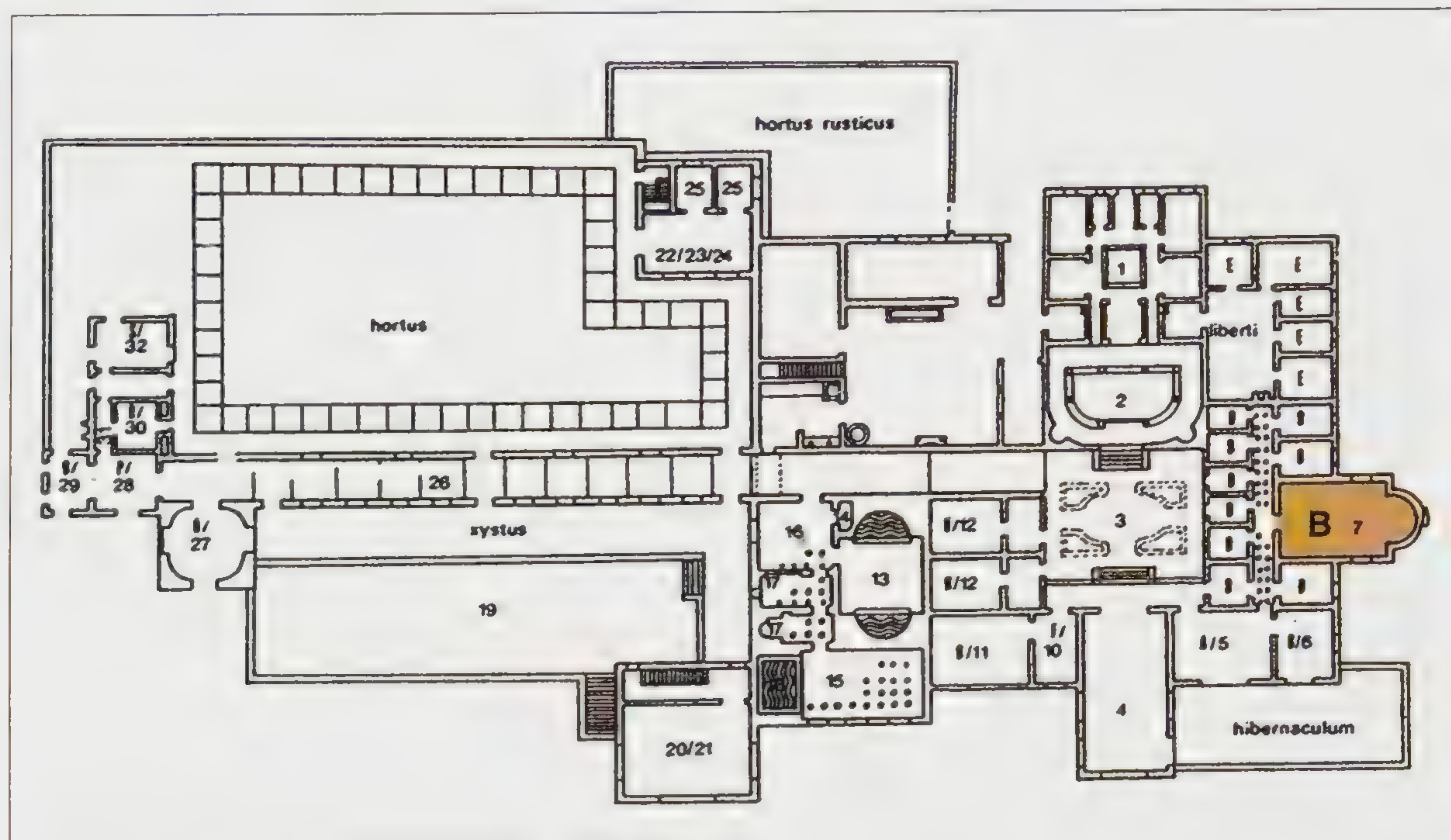
22. *Reconstruction of Pliny the Younger's villa. Print from J. von Falke, Hellas und Rom....*

room and places for keeping the books he used regularly, his correspondence and everything else of that kind; and there he found the peace and quiet he needed for his writing.

The fact that the bilingualism of Roman civilization extended to public and imperial libraries and to private collections is entirely to be expected in the natural course of events. Equally natural is the fact that many members of the aristocracy had sizable collections of books, in Greek as well as Latin, for the sole purpose of using them to bolster their self-esteem and acquiring background knowledge for their own writing, such as it was. We have already noted the caustic comments of Horace and Martial about the plagiarists and

self-glorifying would-be writers who thronged public *recitationes* both in Rome and at villas in various parts of the country.¹³¹ Petronius too, in his *Satyricon*,¹³² ridiculed the foibles of the rich: in one of the stories he describes how Trimalchio, a parvenu shipowner and property magnate,¹³³ professes to have literary interests and to be a regular reader of books, boasting, 'I have two libraries (*duas bybliothecas habeo*), one Greek and the other Latin.'¹³⁴

If one were to comb through ancient literature to find references to writers' book collections and libraries and collate them logically, making rational



23. Plan of Pliny the Younger's villa at Laurentum. Drawing by H. Winnefeld.

deductions from the information available, one would conclude that nearly all writers and men of letters – and others too – possessed some kind of library, large or small. Martial, for example, compliments Julius Martialis on the library in his splendid villa on the Janiculum, a house well known for its fine rural outlook.¹³⁵ The poet was a good friend of his namesake, to whom he dedicated some of his best epigrams. In another poem Martial urges one Sosibianus, a poet otherwise unknown to us, to publish his poems without further delay so that the public can read them; for he has the resources of a library full of books, doubtless including his own works.¹³⁶

Great Roman book collectors. A great book collector mentioned by Athenaeus of Naucratis¹³⁷ was Larensius (Publius Livius Larensis), who was probably the writer's patron. It was around A.D. 200, in the time of Septimius Severus

and Caracalla, that Athenaeus wrote his Platonic-style dialogue entitled *Deipnosophistae* ('Scholars at Dinner'). The scene is set in the home of Larensius, a rich and well-educated Roman knight. At the beginning of the first book, before the famous list of the great book collectors of antiquity, Athenaeus paints a highly complimentary portrait of Larensius, who he says knows two languages (Greek and Latin) and has acquired his erudition by reading old decrees, law codes and various public records; and he was said to have so many volumes of ancient Greek writings that he outdid all the most renowned book collections of the past, from that of Polycrates, ruler of Samos, down to the famous library of Aristotle himself.¹³⁸

The numerical figures quoted in the sources for the size of various private libraries are of a magnitude that makes us wonder how it was possible for a writer of no great wealth to possess thousands of works running to a total of tens of thousands of papyrus rolls. Whatever the truth of the matter, we have to sum up these scattered references and find out more about the book collectors in question, their professional careers, the role they played (if any) in political life and their political connections. We have already seen, in the chapter on Cicero, that Tyrannio the Elder had a library of thirty thousand books, part of which may have been brought to Rome as spoils from Lucullus's campaign against Mithradates;¹³⁹ and that by the time he was twenty-eight he had in his library the complete works of Chrysippus, that is the seven hundred books that the latter is said to have written.¹⁴⁰ Another grammarian said to have been a great book-lover and collector, also in the first century A.D., was Epaphroditus of Chaeronea, who, as a freedman, took the name of Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus. Born a slave, he studied under Archias and went to Alexandria, where he was employed as tutor to the Roman governor of Egypt, Mettius Modestus, who eventually manumitted him. He then moved to Rome, where he won fame and fortune as a teacher. According to *Souda*, he had a library of no less than thirty thousand books, many of which he may well have brought with him from Alexandria.¹⁴¹ For his services to cultural life in Rome he was honoured with a statue, though the statue dates from the third century.¹⁴² A truly impressive collection of books was amassed by a fairly insignificant writer of the second to third centuries, Serenus Sammonicus, whose library contained 62,000 books.¹⁴³ Sammonicus was active on the Roman cultural scene in the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla and is said to have written a number of books, one of which, an antiquarian treatise, was dedicated to Emperor Severus.¹⁴⁴ He was murdered in 212 (in Caracalla's reign) and his library is

alleged to have passed into the hands of his son, Serenus Sammonicus the Younger, who donated it to Emperor Gordian II in 238, when Rome was passing through a particularly troubled period; however, Sammonicus the Younger's biographical details, if not his very existence, may have been invented by the author of the relevant book of the *Historia Augusta*.¹⁴⁵



24. Statue of the grammaticus Graecus, Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus, 3rd c. B.C. Rome, Palazzo Altieri.

Publius Victor,¹⁴⁶ in his description of the monuments of Rome, states that there were at least twenty-eight public libraries there in the time of Constantine the Great, that is the early fourth century. But Ammianus Marcellinus, writing only a few decades later, presents a different picture of Roman cultural life, lamenting the general decadence of Roman society and the dereliction of the private libraries that had existed in Roman villas in the time of Lucullus, Varro, Atticus and Pliny. He also implies that various public libraries in the Forum and the baths may have fallen into decay:¹⁴⁷

‘The few houses that once were famous for their serious cultivation of learning are now full of tedious, idle games and echo to the sound of singing and the raucous scraping of stringed instruments. Nowadays, when people want a teacher, they employ a singer rather than a scholar and a comedian rather than an orator. The libraries are permanently closed, like tombs. The people construct hydraulic organs or gigantic, cart-sized lyres and flutes, and monstrous musical instruments for theatrical shows.’

These two somewhat contradictory reports give us some idea of the state of the book world in Rome on the eve of the founding of the East Roman Empire with its capital at Constantinople and Christianity as its official religion.

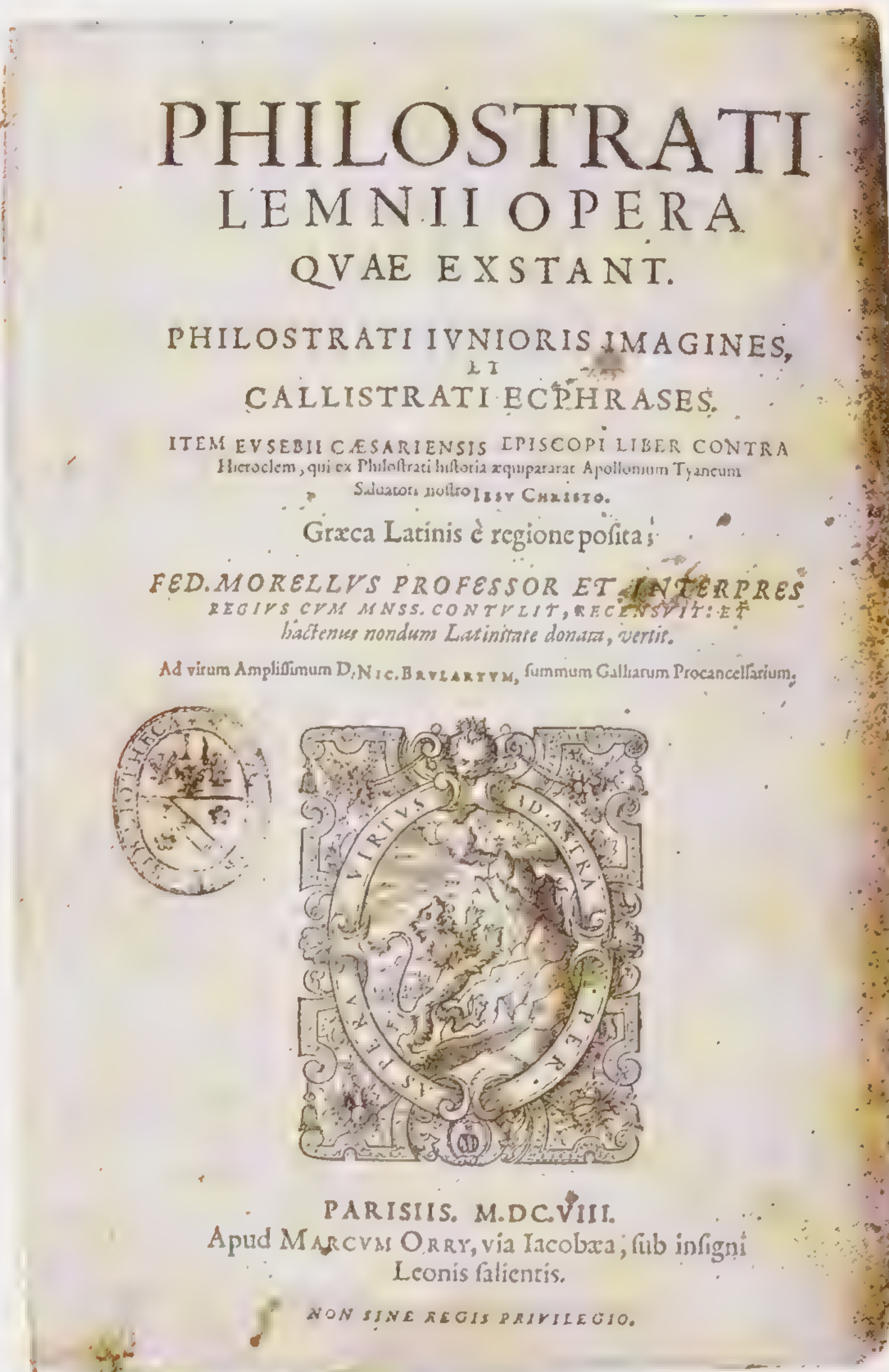
In an attempt to trace the existence of libraries not mentioned in the sources, we have looked at the various guilds and literary circles and examined the activities of their members in the hope of uncovering information about the whole process of writing, publishing and distributing books. We have noted the part played by the *Collegium scribarum et histrionum* and the educational impact of the books from the Macedonian royal library which Aemilius Paullus brought back as spoils of war, as well as the help given by those books to the Scipionic circle.

The result of these processes of cultural activity and interaction – a result to which the Stoics and Epicureans made a crucial contribution, as evidenced by the voluminous correspondence between Cicero and Atticus – was that the book market acquired new vigour in the latter years of the Republic and many important bilingual private libraries came into being. These developments led on naturally to the creation of the first public library in Rome and the imperial libraries of Augustus and Tiberius. Other major factors behind the wider distribution of books and the formation of private libraries were the patronage of rich men such as Maecenas and Messalla, and public *recitationes*. Rome developed into a great cultural centre, and from the first century A.D. public libraries sprang up one after the other in the imperial fora and the baths. However, from the middle of the second century, with the growth of new centres of learning in the West and East and the ‘provincialization’ of the Empire, Rome gradually ceased to be the cultural navel of the Empire.

To conclude this review of the book culture in Rome from Livius Andronicus to the Late Empire, it is worth dwelling for a moment on one family, whose literary activities revitalized Roman cultural life and supplied the world of

books with new material. They were the Philostrati, a family originally from Lemnos whose members were active in the second and third centuries in the fields of rhetoric and Sophistic, in Athens and Rome. The one known as Philostratus II, the son of Verus, born in 160 and introduced to the imperial court by Proclus, was the author of a major work entitled *Lives of the Sophists*¹⁴⁸ setting out the historical and social background to the Sophists' activities and their relations with the imperial court.

Lives of the Sophists introduces us to a world of scholars and writers, most of whom started their careers in the East but later moved west and ended in Rome, where many of them became famous.¹⁴⁹ They mixed with emperors, statesmen, literary patrons and members of the aristocracy, not only professionally but as personal friends. The circles in which these sophists moved included writers such as Lucian, Dio Cassius, Herodianus and Aelius Aristides, among many others.¹⁵⁰ For example, one of the first adherents of the Second Sophistic, the rhetorician Scopelianus, delivered a famous speech addressed to Domitian whereby he persuaded the Emperor to revoke his ban on viticulture, thus winning such a following in Rome that some of his admirers went with



25. Title page of *Philostratus, Opera omnia*, Paris, M. Orry, 1608.

him to Smyrna.¹⁵¹ In 131 Polemon delivered the panegyric to Emperor Hadrian on the inauguration of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens,¹⁵² and in 143 Herodes Atticus was in Rome as consul and tutor to Marcus Aurelius and Verus.¹⁵³ Aelius Aristides claimed to have kept up a regular personal correspondence with the emperors.¹⁵⁴ The emperors' dependence on Greek sophists is apparent from the fact that so many of them held the post of secretary *ab epistulis graecis* ('minister of Greek letters'): in fact, from the second century to the

early decades of the third, they had a near-monopoly of that position.¹⁵⁵ Phrynichus dedicated his book on grammar¹⁵⁶ to the imperial secretary Cornelianus, and Aelius Antipater was employed by Septimius Severus as his private secretary and tutor to Geta and Caracalla.¹⁵⁷ Galen went to Rome in 161, served there at various times under three emperors (Marcus Aurelius, Commodus and Septimius Severus) and left a great mass of writings as his heritage to posterity.¹⁵⁸

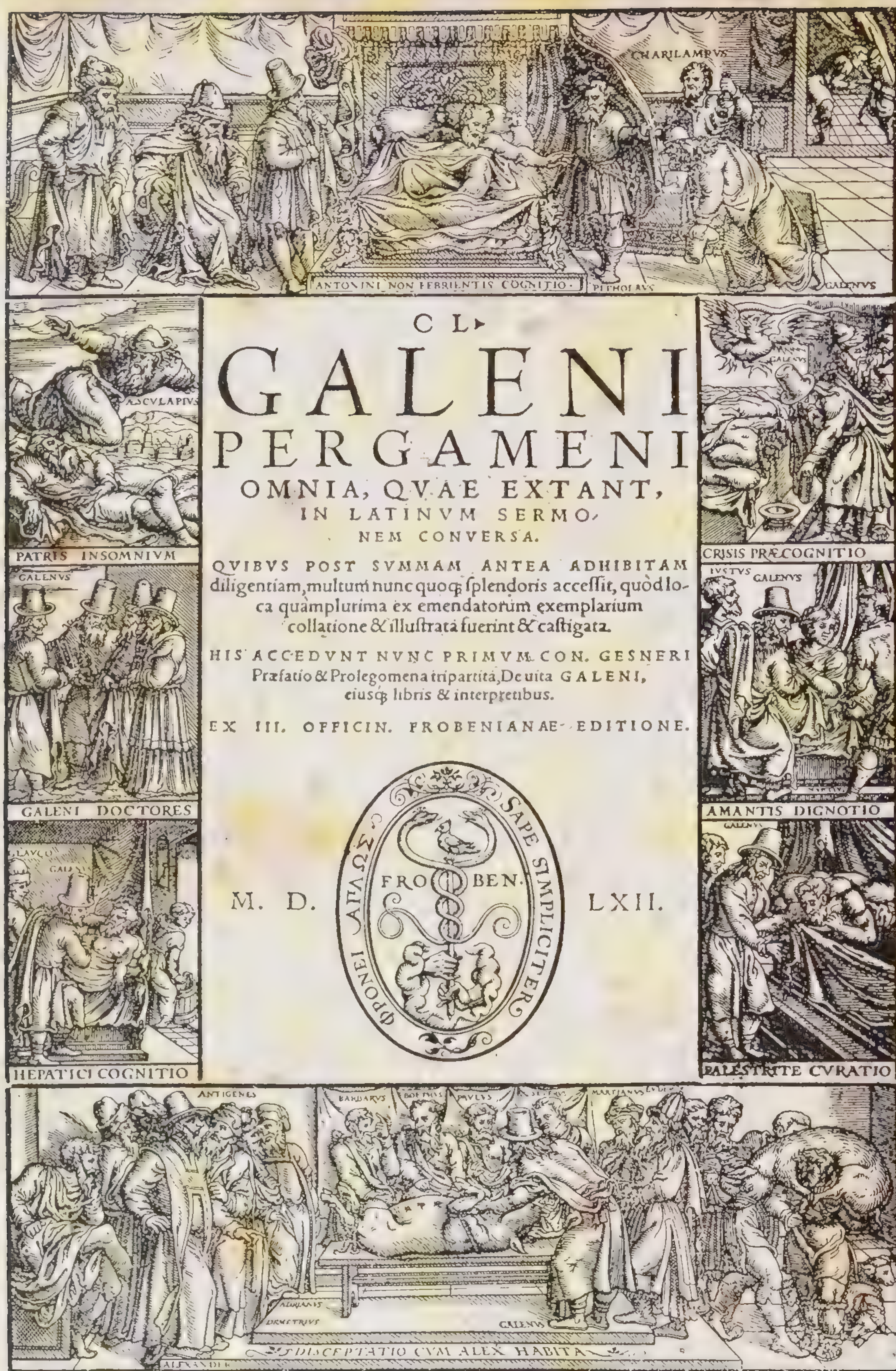
In the climate prevailing in the time of the Second Sophistic, a number of learned coteries came into being. One was formed by no less a person than the Empress Julia Domna, in the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.¹⁵⁹ Julia Domna's circle has been overrated in modern times¹⁶⁰ with the result that an excessively large number of members have been claimed for it, many of whom either had no real connection or were only occasionally involved with it. But there is no reason to question its very existence, as it is an established fact that the writers and sophists who belonged to the circle included Philostratus, the author of the *Lives of the Sophists*, Philiscus¹⁶¹ and perhaps Antonius Gordianus (the future Emperor Gordian III),¹⁶² to whom Philostratus dedicated his *Lives*.



26. Aelius Aristides. Marble statue in the Vatican Museum.

The history of the imperial and public libraries in the fora and baths of Rome comes to an end, to all intents and purposes, with the bilingual libraries of Trajan (in his Forum) and the magnificent Baths of Diocletian: these were opened respectively in 112 and towards the end of the third century. Yet the creation of major book collections which eventually found their way into public libraries or formed the nucleus of new libraries, and the accumulation of works of Christian literature that came into being in the early years of the Christian era, never ceased to supply the world of books with new material.

The so-called
'literary circle'
of Julia Domna



27. Title page of Galen. «Opera omnia», Basel, J. Froben, 1562.

Even so, there were periods when the 'survival' of large numbers of books containing literary or other historical writings did not depend solely on exogenous natural factors (such as fires, censorship – resulting in the mutilation of the literary tradition – and vandalistic pillaging) but on other happenings as well, such as the great intellectual and philosophical movements which often resulted in the purging of the literary tradition from within and led to the disappearance of any number of irreplaceable books. Such a process occurred in the period when works of Latin literature were being recopied from papyrus rolls to parchment codices – a long drawn-out process that was completed by about the fourth century. Of course, this does not mean that papyrus rolls went out of use overnight as literary documents and repositories of knowledge, but one consequence of the changeover was that authors who were considered to be second- or third-rate, or whose work was no longer read, were to all intents and purposes expunged from the Roman literary tradition. A similar erosion of the Greek literary tradition had taken place in the Hellenistic libraries of the East: that had been due partly to the destructive mania of the adherents of the new religion towards paganism, and partly to the decline of classical learning, one consequence of which was that important old works were 'recycled' as writing material for Christian literature. Lastly, a large-scale programme of recopying Greek literature from papyrus to parchment, directed by Themistius in Constantinople in the fourth century, left out a great many books that ran contrary to the new faith and the corresponding educational principles.

NOTES

V

The World of Books

NOTES

1. See p. 100.
2. See T. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*, Darmstadt, 1967, 23-25; V. Buzz, 'Editionstechnik', *RAC* IV (1959) 597-610; J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity*, Salem, N. H, 1981.
3. Hor., *Epist.* 1.20; Hor., *Ars poet.* 345. On booksellers and bookshops in Rome see T. Kleberg, 'Roma e l'epoca greco-romana', Italian tr. by Enrico Livrea, in *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. Cavallo, Rome/Bari, 1989, 40-80; Catherine Salles, *Lire à Rome*, Paris, 1992, 160-165.
4. Hor., *Sat.* 1.4.70-78.
5. See E. J. Bickermann, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63, 339; E. G. Turner, 'Ἑλληνικοὶ Πάπυροι: Εἰσαγωγή στὴ μελέτη καὶ τὴ χρήση τῶν παπύρινων κειμένων (= *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, Oxford, 1968, tr. G. M. Parasoglou), Athens, 1981, 79.
6. Cic., *Ad Att.* XII.23.
7. Mart., *Epigr.* IV.72.
8. *Institutiones oratoriae* is dedicated to Vitorius Marcellus and was written for Marcellus's son, Geta. It took at least two years for the work to be put into its final form and ready for publication, perhaps before A.D. 94. See B. Zucchelli, 'Sulla data di pubblicazione dell' *Institutio oratoria* di Quintiliano', in *Filologia e forme letterarie*, Studies in Honour of F. Della Corte 4, Urbino, 1987, 47-60; W. C. McDermott and A. E. Orentzel, 'Quintilian and Domitian', *Athenaeum* 67 (1979) 9-26.
9. Mart., *Epigr.* 1.107.
10. Mart., *Epigr.* 1.2. Secundus is referred to as a freedman of a writer named Lucensis.
11. Mart., *Epigr.* 1.113.
12. Seneca, *De benef.* VII.6.
13. Suet., *De vita Lucani*.
14. Mart., *Epigr.* XIV.194.
15. Gell., *Noct. Att.* II.3.5, v.4.1.
16. See p. 164 on the public announcements and advertisements mentioned by Martial.
17. In Book XIV, entitled *Apophoreta* ('Gifts taken home'), Martial has a number of brief motto-like epigrams in which he lists books given as keepsakes to guests at banquets: among them are books of great value, including some written on vellum (183-188). He mentions Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, the *Iliad*, books by Virgil, Menander's *Thais* and one work by Cicero.
18. See P. Gros, *L'Architecture romaine*. 1. *Les monuments publics*, Paris, 2002², 453 ff.
19. Gell., *Noct. Att.* II.3.5.
20. Dio Chrysostom, *Orations*, XXI.12.
21. See Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 197.
22. See p. 83.
23. See p. 82.
24. See p. 29.
25. Orbilius, *Epist.* II.1.69-71.
26. See p. 97.
27. See Albrecht, *Ἱστορία*, I, 131.
28. Accius wrote a drama entitled *Brutus* in honour of his friend and patron Decimus Junius Brutus Callaicus, which probably had its stage première to celebrate Brutus's triumph in 138 B.C.: see Cicero, *Div.* I.44-45. See also C. C. Coultnier, 'Marcus Iunius Brutus and the *Brutus* of Accius', *Class. Journal* 35 (1940) 460-470; J. Dangel, *Accius, Oeuvres (fragments), texte établi, traduit et annoté*, Paris, 1995, 16 ff, 273 ff.
29. Gell., *Noct. Att.* I.24.2.
30. See pp. 68 ff; also S. Mariotti, 'La struttura del *Bellum Punicum* di Nevio', *Studi in onore di G. Funaioli*, Rome, 1955, 221-238.

31. See p. 68.
32. Cic., *Opt. gen.* 2; Cic., *Orat.* 36.
33. See p. 69.
34. Ter., *Hec.*, praef. II.14 ff.
35. See W. Krenkel, 'Zur literarischen kritik bei Lucilius,' in *Die römische Satire*, ed. D. Korzeniewski, Darmstadt, 1970, 161-266, esp. 230-231.
36. On the Scipionic circle see p. 46.
37. *Luc.* (592-596 M. = 591-594 K.)
38. See pp. 56-57.
39. See Enrica Malcovati, introduction to O. B. Janzer, *Historische Untersuchungen zu den Redenfragmenten des M. Porcius Cato* (doct. dissertation), Würzburg, 1937.
40. Cic., *Ad. Q. fr.* II.10 (9), 4. The assertion that Cicero edited and published Lucretius dates from the time of St. Jerome: see Jerome's addition to the *Chronica* of Eusebius, ed. Helm, 1913, 149.
41. See p. 69.
42. Suet., *De gram.* III. On Servius Claudius, who left his books to L. Papirius Paetus, who subsequently gave them to Cicero, see p. 82. According to Cicero, the books came into Papirius's possession when he was in Athens, which implies that that must have been the place chosen by Servius for his self-imposed exile.
43. Suet., *De vita Terenti*, IV. According to Suetonius, when Terence was on his way back from Greece, where he had been studying, he was lost at sea with all his possessions, including 108 plays that he had adapted from Menander, when his ship sank. This story should be treated as a literary romance, as it is not corroborated by any other source.
44. Suet., *De gram.* V.
45. Suet., *De gram.* VI. These *indices* or book catalogues are mentioned by numerous Roman writers, such as Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* x.1.57) and Pliny the Younger (*Epist.* III.5.2); see also C. E. Boyd, *Public*

Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome, Chicago, 1915, 29-30. Seneca (*Dial.* IX.9.4) ridicules those rich book-collectors who have never even read the *indices* in the libraries, let alone the books themselves. The *indices* might be described as individual bibliographies, on the evidence of Gellius (III.3.1), who mentions them with reference to Plautus's works.

46. Suet., *De gram.* VIII.
47. Suet., *De gram.* XXIV.
48. For example, Lucius Crassicius Pasicles, a freedman from Tarentum, became famous through the publication of his commentary on *Zmyrna*, an epyllion by Gaius Helvius Cinna (*De gram.* XVIII). Cornelius Epicadius, a freedman of L. Cornelius Sulla and probably his librarian, completed the last book of Sulla's autobiography (*De gram.* XII). And Lucius Ateius Philologus wrote voluminous notes and commentaries – eight hundred volumes of *hyle* ('material', i.e. raw material for writers and orators) – which were widely known and used in his lifetime, but by the second century A.D., only two hundred years later, very few of them survived.
49. On Cicero's letters to Atticus see pp. 82 ff.
50. See p. 97.
51. On the 'institution' of patronage see M. Hadas, *Ancilla to Classical Reading*, New York, 1961, 67-69; Salles, *Lire à Rome*.
52. See p. 141.
53. See pp. 131-141.
54. Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus was born in 64 B.C. and completed his studies in Athens at the time when Horace and the younger Cicero were living there. He was actively involved in the political events of his time (the power struggle between Antony and Octavian) and was a benefactor of many charitable causes. His main claim to fame was as a patron of men of letters, and two anonymous pan-

- egyrics testify to the Roman people's recognition of his merits. He himself wrote poetry in Greek and Latin as well as history books. See J. Hammer, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Panegyricus Messallae*, New York, 1925; R. Hanslik, *Der Dichterkreis des Messalla*, Wien, 1925.
55. The *Corpus Tibullanum*, in the form in which it has come down to us, is an anthology of poems believed to have been written by members of Messalla's circle. It was probably published after Messalla's death.
56. See pp. 144-145.
57. Juv., *Sat.* VII.36-52; Tac., *Dial. Orat.* IX.3. On the auditoriums see Birgitta Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium: A study on assembly-rooms in Roman palaces during the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.*, tr. Patrick Hort, Stockholm, 1963; also P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut Empire. 2: Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Paris, 2001, 289-312, which gives plans of several villas with an auditorium among their rooms. In the time of Juvenal and Tacitus an auditorium intended for public readings consisted of a stage and a semicircular orchestra with high-backed seats (*cathedrae*) at the front and benches (*subsellia*) higher up for the clients and freedmen.
58. See p. 122.
59. See p. 131.
60. See p. 141.
61. See p. 139.
62. See p. 141.
63. Nero forbade Lucan to write poetry, and although he reacted mildly to the poet's scurrilous attacks on him and his friends, after the discovery of Piso's conspiracy he made him choose the manner of his death: see Suet., *Vita Lucani*. In A.D. 66 Nero brought an action against Curtius for the satirical nature of his poems, but in the end the poet received an imperial pardon in return for his undertaking to stay out of public life.
64. Verginius Flavus was a well-known rhetorician in Rome: it was the splendour of his name that provoked Nero's envy and led to his banishment (Tac., *Ann.* xv.71). Gaius Musonius Rufus was a teacher in Rome who was twice exiled by Nero (in A.D. 65 and 71) but was rehabilitated by Titus.
65. Thrasea Paetus, a politician and Stoic philosopher who was consul in A.D. 56, was indicted by Nero for high treason on account of his republican convictions, and was compelled to take his own life in A.D. 66.
66. See J. P. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic, A Literary and Historical Study*, Cambridge/New York, 1991; L. Tromaras, 'Ο Μαρτιάλης καὶ ἡ σχέση του πρὸς τοὺς Καίσαρες τῆς Ἰουλιο-κλαυδιανῆς δυναστείας, *ΕΕΦΣΠΘ*, 6, 1996.
67. Mart., *Epigr.* v.5. Albinovanus Pedo was an Augustan poet and a friend of Ovid's; Martial took his epigrams as literary models for his own work. Domitius Marsus, another poet, was a contemporary of Pedo's and a protégé of Maecenas.
68. On the Forum of Vespasian and the Temple of Peace see J. C. Anderson, Jr., *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, Brussels, 1984, 119-139; R. Meneghini, *Il foro di Nerva*, Roma, 1991; Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 1: Les monuments publics*, Paris, 2002², 217-218.
69. On the libraries in the Temple of Peace see Boyd, *Public Libraries*, 16-17; Elżbieta Makowiecka, *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of Roman Library*, Warsaw, 1978; Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 1: Les monuments publics*, 365. On the *Forma Urbis Romae* see p. 134 herein.

70. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii.5.7.
71. Gell., *Noct. Att.* v.21.9, xvi.8.2.
72. Suet., *Div. Vesp.* viii.
73. *Ibid.* xviii.
74. Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* I.1.xiii (C. G. Kühn, ed., vol. VI, 362). Dio Cassius and Herodianus both mention the temple's destruction by fire in the reign of Commodus: Dio Cass., lxxii; Herod., i.14.6.
75. Amm. Marc. xvi.10.14.
76. *Hist. Aug.: Tyranni triginta*, xxxi.10.
77. Suet., *Domitian* xx.
78. *Ibid.*, x.
79. *Ibid.* The Stoic philosopher Quintus Junius Arulenus Rusticus, a friend of Thrasea's, attempted to veto the Senate's verdict but his veto was disallowed. After his friend's death he published a biography of him, for which he was condemned to death on Domitian's orders in 93.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, xiv.
83. *Ibid.*, x.
84. Juv., vii.83. See also G. Aricò, 'Per il Fortleben di Stazio', *Vichiana* 12 (1983) 36-43.
85. On Martial's epigrams see pp. 177-179.
86. Suet., *Domitian* xx. On Domitian's palace on the Palatine and the reconstruction programme in general, see W. L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, I: An Introductory Study* (1965), New Haven/London, 1982, 69-74; Helge Finsen, *La résidence de Domitien sur le Palatin* [Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementa, 5], Copenhagen, 1969; Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 2: Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Paris 2001, 252-261. Domitian commissioned the architect Rabirius (probably at the beginning of his reign, in 81) to build a new residence for him on the east side of the Palatine, which drastically altered the landscape. Martial spoke highly of Rabirius's architectural vision in one of his epigrams (vii.56) and wrote another to honour his parents' memory (x.71).
87. Suet., *Domitian* xx.
88. Very little is known about Rabirius, who is not mentioned in any literary source other than Martial's epigrams. Nor can we be sure whether he was a friend of Martial's or whether the poet's reference to the architect was intended as an indirect form of flattery. See G. Fabricius, 'C. Rabirius', in *RE*, 1A (1920), 23-24; F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig, Seemann, 1978; MacDonald, *The Architecture*, I, 127-129.
89. Seneca, *De clementia*.
90. Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* xiv.2.
91. On the Forum of Trajan see esp.: P. Zanker, 'Das Trajans Forum in Rom', *AA* 85 (1970) 499-544; Carla-Maria Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e biblioteche*, Roma, 1982; G. Piazzesi, 'Il Foro di Traiano. Gli edifici: ipotesi ricostruttive', *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989) 125-198; B. M. Tummarello, 'Il Foro di Traiano. Storia dei ritrovamenti dei frammenti architettonici secondo i disegni', *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989) 101-120; R. Meneghini, L. Messa and L. Ungaro, *Il Foro di Traiano* [Itinerari didattici d'arte e di cultura, 20], Roma, 1990; J. E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments*, Berkeley, 1997; Gros, *L'architecture.... 1: Les monuments publics*, 218-220.
92. Apollodorus of Damascus is, with Severus, Rabirius and Decrianus, one of the few architects of the Roman period whose names have come down to us. He was an international figure, an author in his own right, a member of Trajan's inner circle

and his principal adviser on all his architectural projects, and he probably rose to the position of *praefectus fabrum*.

Being from Syria, he brought with him an aura of Hellenistic culture that is plainly discernible in his work, whose distinctive character has been widely discussed in connection with the possible influence of Greek on Roman art in general. After Trajan's death Apollodorus continued in the service of his successor, Hadrian, though there was probably no love lost between them: his criticism of Hadrian's architectural programme, and especially his harsh comments on the Temple of Venus in Rome, led to his being banished and eventually condemned to death (Dio Cassius, LXIX.4). On Apollodorus's contribution to Roman architecture in general see R. Bianchi Bandinelli, 'Un problema di arte romana: Il maestro delle imprese di Trajano', *Le arti* 1 (1938-1939) 325-334; Id., 'Apollodoros di Damasco', *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, I, 477-480. There is a bust labelled 'Apollodorus' in the Munich Glyptothek which may possibly be a portrait of him: see P. Arndt and F. Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, Munich, 1897, 46-47; A. Furtwängler and P. Wolters, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. Zu München*, Munich, 1910, 352; on Roman architects in general see MacDonald, *The Architecture*, I, 122-142 (129-137 on Apollodorus).

93. On the architectural conception of the library's design see pp. 345, 348.
94. On Trajan's Column see L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, London, 1971; P. M. Monti, *La colonna Traiana*, Roma, 1980.
95. On the Basilica Ulpia see Zanker, 'Das Trajans Forum', 499-554; Amici, *Foro di Traiano*; J. Packer and K. Sarring,

'Dossier: Il Foro di Traiano', *Archeo* VII, 11 Nov. 1992 (1993), 72.

96. Amm. Marc. XVI.10.
97. See Boyd, *Public Libraries*, 17-19; Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 52-60; J. Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2. århundrede e Chr.*, Copenhagen, 1976, 45-51; Lora Lee Johnson, *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to their Architectural Form*, Ann Arbor, 1999, 102-110; R. Meneghini, 'Die "Bibliotheca Ulpia". Neueste Ausgrabungen in der Bibliothek im Traiansforum in Rom', in *Antike Bibliotheken*, ed. W. Hoepfner, Mainz am Rhein, 2002, 117-222.
98. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XI.17.
99. *Hist. Aug.: Divus Aurelianus* I.7, I.10, VIII.1.
100. *Hist. Aug.: Tacitus* VIII.1: 'And now, lest any one consider that I have rashly put faith in some Greek or Latin writer, there is in the Ulpian Library, in the sixth case, an ivory book, in which is written out this decree of the senate, signed by Tacitus himself with his own hand.' Whether there still existed any of the famous *libri lintei*, the official records going back to the time of C. Licinius Macer (see p. 17 herein), written on linen, or indeed any incised ivory plaques, or whether the writer was merely showing off his antiquarian interests, is something that cannot be proved one way or the other.
101. *Hist. Aug.: Probus* II.1. The author of this part of the *Historia Augusta* states that he had used material from the Ulpian Library (that is Trajan's library) which was then in the Baths of Diocletian.
102. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae* IX.16
103. For more on these wars see A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1966.

104. See pp. 248 and 237 respectively.
105. See p. 223.
106. On the baths as a cultural feature of Roman society, and on their architecture, see W. H. Heinz, *Römische Thermen. Badewesen und Badeluxus im römischen Reich*, München, 1983; I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*, 2 vols., Aarhus, 1990; A. Malissard, *Les Romains et l'eau. Fontaines, salles de bains, thermes égouts, aqueducs*, Paris, 1994.
107. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion, Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce*, Paris, 1960, 243.
108. Cf. Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 1: Les monuments publics*, 394-397.
109. See E. Cizek, *L'époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques*, Leiden, 1972; Id., *Néron*, Paris, 1982; P. Grimal, *Sénèque: ou, La conscience de l'Empire*, Paris, 1978; Florence Dupont, 'Η Αὐτοκρατορία τοῦ Ἡθοποιοῦ. Τὸ Θέατρο στὴν Ἀρχαία Ρώμη (= *L'acteur-roi ou le Théâtre dans la Rome antique*, tr. Sophia Georgakopoulou), Athens, 2003, 531-555.
110. See G. Ghini, 'Terme Neroniano-Alessandrine', in *Roma. Archeologia nel centro. II: La città murata*, Roma, 1985, 395-399; Id., 'Le Terme Alessandrine del Campo Marzio', *Monumenti Antichi*, ser. misc., 3.4 (1988) 121-177; Gros, *L'architecture romaine... 1: Les monuments publics*, 397-398.
111. The ground plan of the Baths of Nero was drawn by Palladio and subsequently published by D. Krencker and I. Nielsen. The baths were situated in the Campus Martius: see F. Coarelli, *Il campo Marzio: Dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*, Rome, 1997.
112. See Kjeld de Fine Licht, *Untersuchungen an den Trajansthermen zu Rom. 2: Sette Sale* [Analecta Roman Instituti Danici, Supplementa, 19], Rome, 1990; Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 1: Les monuments publics*, 400-401.
113. Dio Cassius, L XIX.4.1. On Apollodorus see p. 185 herein.
114. On libraries in the baths see Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 60-62; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 111-118; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 51-53; V. M. Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', *Gymnasium* 88 (1981) 311-313.
115. For details of the exedra L and the niches in the library see De Fine Licht, 'Untersuchungen', 25.
116. See L. Lombardi and A. Corazza, *Le terme di Caracalla*, Rome, 1995; J. DeLaine, *The Baths of Caracalla: A study in the design, construction, and economics of large-scale building projects in imperial Rome* [Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 25], Ann Arbor, 1997; Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 1: Les monuments publics*, 402-404.
117. See Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 91-93; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 54-56; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 119-124.
118. See H. Günther, 'Insana aedificia thermarum nomine extructa': *Die Diokletiansthermen in der Sicht der Renaissance*, Alfter, 1994.
119. See G. Matthiae, *S. Maria degli Angeli* [Le chiese di Roma illustrate, vol. 87], Roma, 1965.
120. See Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 96-97; G. Lugli, *Itinerario di Roma Antica*, Rome, 1975, 352.
121. See p. 188; also Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 95-98, Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 57-60.
122. See pp. 63-64.
123. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, 202-232.

124. On Roman villas from the end of the Republic see D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*; Id., 'Ville rustiche e ville di otium', in F. Zevi (ed.), *Pompei* 79, Naples, 1979, 2nd ed. 1984, 65-86; H. Mielsch, *La villa Romana. Con Guida Archeologica alle ville Romane*, Florence, 1999; Gros, *L'architecture.... 2: Maisons, palais ...*, 289-349 and (on the imperial villas) 350-378. On villas outside Rome where literary sources record the existence of libraries, such as those of Lucullus, Sulla, Varro, Cicero, Horace and Atticus, see respectively pp. 72-74, 83, 67, 81-82, 121 and 96 herein.
125. Pliny, *Epist.* 1.8.
126. Pliny, *Epist.* 1.10.1-2, III.11.5.
127. See P. White, 'The Friends of Martial, Statius and Pliny and the Dispersal of Patronage'. *HSPH* 79 (1975) 265-300. On his friendship with Martial see T. Adamik, 'Pliny and Martial. *Epist.* 3, 21', *AUB* 4 (1976) 63-72.
128. See G. Galboli, 'Pline le Jeune entre pratique judiciaire et éloquence épédic-tique', *BAGB* 44 (1985) 357-374.
129. Pliny, *Epist.* v.6.
130. Pliny, *Epist.* II.17. On that villa see R. Förtsch, *Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Villenbriefen des Jüngener Plinius*, Mainz am Rhein, 1993; Gros, *L'architecture.... 2: Maisons, palais ...*, 314-321.
131. See pp. 143-144, 177-179.
132. Petronius, *Satyricon* XXX. Petronius, a man of refinement with a taste for the pleasures of life and the imperial court in Nero's reign, was at the same time actively involved in politics, holding the offices of consul and proconsul. Eventually he was implicated in Piso's conspiracy and forced to take his own life. See also B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romanes*, Berkeley, 1967; J. P. Sullivan, *The Satyricon of Petronius, A Literary Study*, London, 1968, and P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel*, Cambridge, 1970.
133. Trimalchio, an immensely rich self-made man from the provinces, gives a large dinner-party at which he shows off his wealth in every possible way. 'Trimalchio's Banquet' ('Cena Trimalchionis', part of the *Satyricon*), a masterpiece showing the Roman satirical novel at its best, paints a picture of petit-bourgeois society in southern Italy in Nero's reign. On the treatment of the stock character of the *nouveau riche*, see C. Stöcker, *Humor bei Petron* (doctoral dissertation), Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1969, 62-64; also n. 132 above.
134. Petronius, *Satyricon* XLVIII.
135. Mart., *Epigr.* VII.17.
136. Mart., *Epigr.* IV.33.
137. Athen., *Deipn.* 1.3.
138. See Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 74.
139. See pp. 75, 83.
140. See p. 144.
141. *Souda* s.v. 'Epaphroditos'. According to *Souda*, he bought two houses: presumably it was there that he had his two libraries. There was a namesake of his living in Rome at the same time who was private secretary to Nero and then to Domitian: see p. 182 herein. Yet another Epaphroditus, also a grammarian, who was active at a time unknown, is mentioned as a writer in the *Corpus Gromaticorum*.
142. See Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, 3 vols., London, 1965, No. 2033.
143. *Hist. Aug.: Gordiani tres* XVIII.2.
144. This was entitled *Res reconditae*. Macrobius used it as a reference work and obtained valuable material from it.
145. *Hist. Aug.: Alexander Severus* XXX.1-2. Sammonicus's son is known only from the *Historia Augusta*, yet that same per-

- son is often identified with the author of an undated long poem entitled *Liber Medicinalis*, signed by one Quintus Serenus, whose name was subsequently rewritten as Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, son of the author of *Res reconditae*. The only point in common between the doctor poet and the son of Sammonicus the Elder in the *Historia Augusta* is the name Serenus. For that reason, Bowersock rightly argues not only that that name should be expunged from the so-called philosophical circle of Julia Domna, but also that the poet Quintus Serenus Sammonicus should be regarded as a figment of the imagination. See R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, London, 1968, 186; G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1969, 102, 107.
146. Publius Victor, *De Regionibus Urbis Romae* (: Bibliothecae unde triginta publicae, ex iis praeaeque duae. Palatina, & Ulpia), in P. Mela et al., Venezia, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri 1518.
147. Amm. Marc. XIV.6.18. See also G. W. Houston, 'A Revisionary Note on Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.18: When did the Public Libraries of Ancient Rome Close?', *Library Quarterly* 58 (1988) 258-264.
148. Flavius Philostratus, perhaps the grandson of Verus Philostratus, was born circa 160 and studied under Damian of Ephesus and Antipater of Hierapolis. He started working as a teacher in Athens and then went to Rome. At some time after 217 he went back to Athens and lived there until his death in the reign of Philip the Arab. See G. Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.*, London/Dover, N.H., 1986, 43-58, 76-88.
149. See Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 17-29.
150. See B. A. van Groningen, 'General Literary Tendencies in the Second Century A.D.', *Mnemosyne* 18 (1965) 41-56.
151. Scopelianus of Clazomenae worked mostly in Smyrna, where he was joined by Polemon and Herodes Atticus.
152. Polemon of Laodicea, a pupil of Apollonphanes, Scopelianus and Timocrates of Heraclea, was another who, like Scopelianus, worked mostly in Smyrna. Two of his pupils were Herodes Atticus and Aelius Aristides. See H. Jüttner, *De Polemonis rhetoris vita operibus arte*, Hildesheim, 1967.
153. Herodes Atticus (Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes), born into a rich family at Marathon in 101, studied under renowned teachers who included Polemon and Favorinus. He spent many years teaching in Athens and had numerous monumental public buildings erected at his own expense. See P. Graindor, *Un Milliardaire Antique. Hérode Atticus et sa Famille*, Cairo, 1930; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*, 2 vols., Hildesheim/New York, 1983.
154. See R. Pack, 'Two Sophists and Two Emperors', *CP* 42 (1947) 17. Aelius Aristides, surnamed Theodorus, was born at Hadrianotherae in 117 and died circa 189. He was highly renowned for his rhetorical skills. After travelling to Egypt and Rome, he eventually settled on Smyrna as his permanent home. He had visited Athens and been so impressed by the wealth of books to be found there that he declared that its libraries were among the city's great glories and no such cultural treasures were to be found anywhere else (*Panath.* XIII.306). See A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère*, Paris, 1923.

155. See Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 50-58.

156. This was Phrynichus Arabius, who came from Bithynia. The book in question was entitled *A Selection of Attic Verbs and Nouns*. Another book of his, *Sophistike paraskeue* (*A Grounding in Sophistic*), was dedicated to Emperor Commodus.

157. Aelius Antipater came from Hierapolis in Phrygia, spent many years in Rome and was tutor to Philostratus II. He rose to consular rank and served as governor of Bithynia. He committed suicide at the age of sixty-eight after falling into disfavour with Caracalla. See Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 4-5, 55-56.

158. Galen was born at Pergamum in 129 and studied in Smyrna and Alexandria. He started practising as a doctor in his native city and went to live in Rome in 161. There he made a great reputation for himself and became famous not only for his knowledge of medicine and philosophy (as an *iatrophilosophos*) but also for his learned quarrels with fellow-scholars. See J. H. Oliver, 'Two Athenian Poets', *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8 (1949) 243; and, more generally, G. Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, Lawrence, 1954.

His output as a writer was enormous: according to his own estimate (in *On My Own Books* and *On the Order of My Own Books*), he wrote 153 works amounting altogether to more than 500 books. Much of his work was lost in his own lifetime, because the original manuscripts and the only copies were kept in the library of the Temple of Peace,

which was destroyed by fire in 191 (see above, pp. 179-180). Since he came from Pergamum and had had first-hand experience of the bookish atmosphere in a city whose library had rivalled the Ptolemies' Universal Library in Alexandria, he knew many of the 'tricks of the trade': for example, in his books he writes about forgers, spurious works and the techniques employed to make books look older than they were. See Staikos, *History of the Library*, I, 196.

159. On the so-called circle of Julia Domna see Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 101-109.

Julia Domna, a woman of Syrian descent, married Septimius Severus in 187. She bore him two sons, Aurelius Antoninus (the future Emperor Caracalla) and Septimius Geta, and was proclaimed Augusta in 193. After her husband's death, even though she openly supported Geta, Caracalla showered honours upon her and placed her in charge of his correspondence. She took her own life in 217 following Caracalla's assassination. See M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*, London/New York, 1918, 144-145.

160. See V. Duruy, *Histoire de Rome*, VI, Paris, 1879.

161. Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 622; R. Flacelière, 'Inscriptions de Delphes de l'époque impériale', *BCH* 73 (1949) 473.

162. On Gordian and his relations with Philostratus see T. D. Barnes, 'Philostratus and Gordian', *Latomus* 27 (1968) 581.

VI

LIBRARIES
UNDER
THE EMPIRE



LIBRARIES UNDER THE EMPIRE

Public and private libraries in Italy and the Roman provinces

The fact that large public libraries were founded from the first century A.D. onwards in the Roman provinces, most notably in the East Roman and senatorial provinces, was not in any way fortuitous. The ever-increasing wealth of those regions, to the point where they began to rival Italy itself, turned those provinces into a rising economic force capable of overtaking Rome even in the matter of cultural and political influence. Hadrian's philhellenism simply set the seal on the beginning of Rome's gradual decline, which had been set in motion by the general course of political events. The behaviour of certain members of the intellectual community was typical: Greek sophists of the second century, for example, had no difficulty in moving west from Ephesus, Pergamum and Alexandria and living the lives of members of the Roman community who embraced the Mediterranean civilization (Dio Cassius, Aelius Aristides, Appian, Philostratus). Christian writers, however, turned their attention to the social problems of any province they felt they belonged to: Ausonius wrote some of his works at Bordeaux and Trier, Claudian's poems were recited at Milan, Sidonius Apollinaris lived and worked in the Auvergne, Jerome did most of his writing at Bethlehem and Augustine in Africa. Because of this leaning towards the East, it gradually became the case that Latin literature was not necessarily Roman any longer, and the fact that Hagia Sophia was built in Constantinople, not in Rome, was of symbolic significance.

Libraries in the Italian provinces. It is a curious fact that although in Rome public libraries started multiplying at an exponential rate from the first century A.D. and intellectual life was largely centred on the writing and publishing of books, archaeological finds and literary references tell us very little about the foundation or existence of public libraries in the provinces of

1. *The Tomb of the Urn at Petra. Engraving by D. Roberts and L. Haghe, from The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia, London, 1842-1849.*

Italy. This is all the more striking considering how much firm evidence there is to show that aristocrats' villas, mostly south of Rome, had a special room for reading and quiet study – in other words a library, as briefly described by Vitruvius. René Cagnat,¹ writing in the early twentieth century, was the first person to compile a list of public libraries, and to this day very little has been added to it as a result of archaeological excavations. Among those in his list are the library that Pliny the Younger donated to his native town, Comum (now Como), which has already been mentioned,² and one at Dertona (now Tortona) in Piedmont, attested by an inscription of 22 B.C., in Augustus's reign,³ as well as one at Volsinii (now Volsena), also attested by an inscription which refers not only to the library building but also to the books it contained and the statues adorning it.⁴ Matidia, the Emperor Trajan's niece, has taken her place in history as the donor of a library (the Bibliotheca Matidiana) to the city of Suessa Aurunca: meetings of the city council were held there.⁵ The library that Gellius visited in the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tibur (Tivoli)⁶ may also have been open to the public. At least three more libraries have been found in the vicinity of Tibur, in Hadrian's villa there, as we shall see in connection with that emperor's contribution to the world of literature.⁷

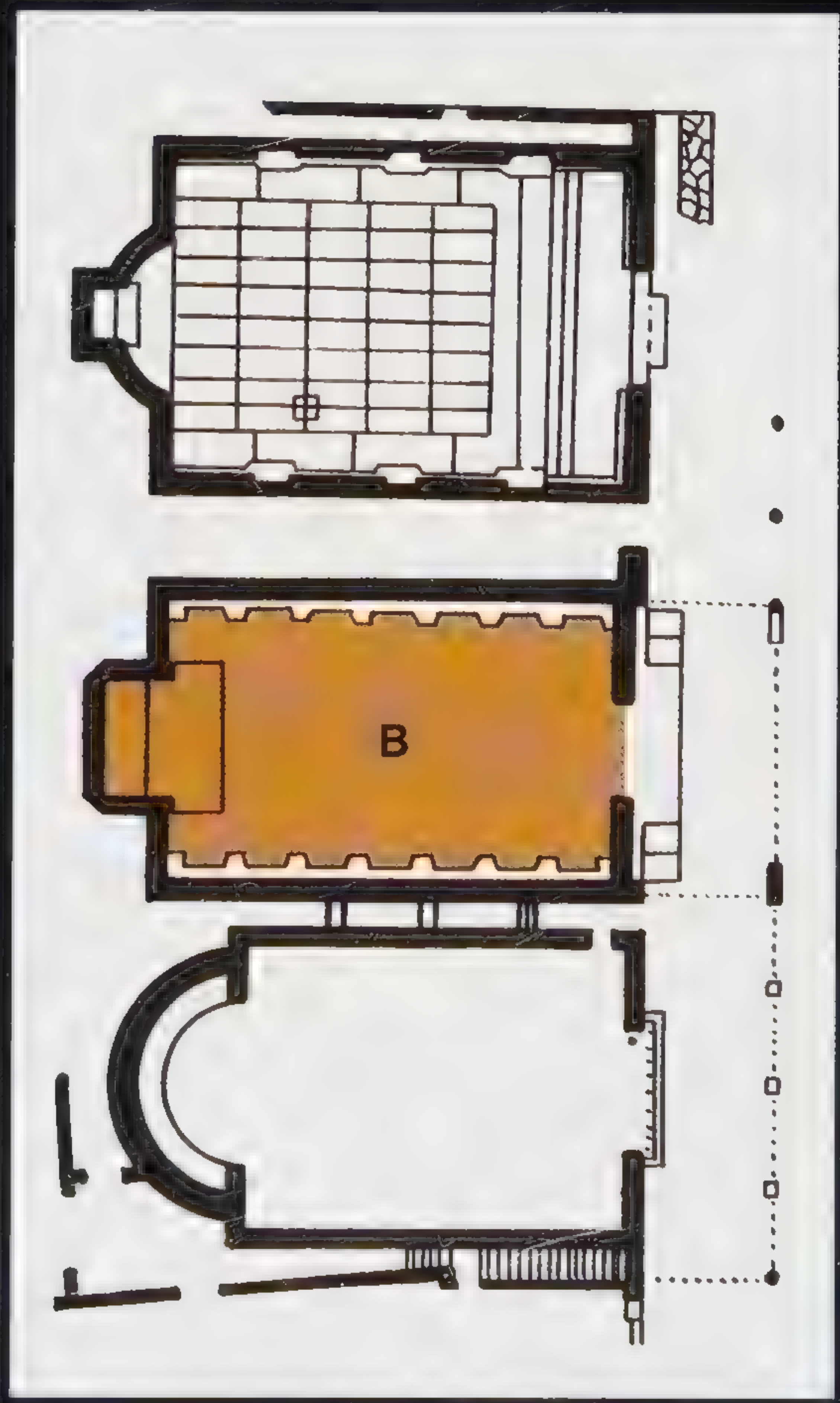
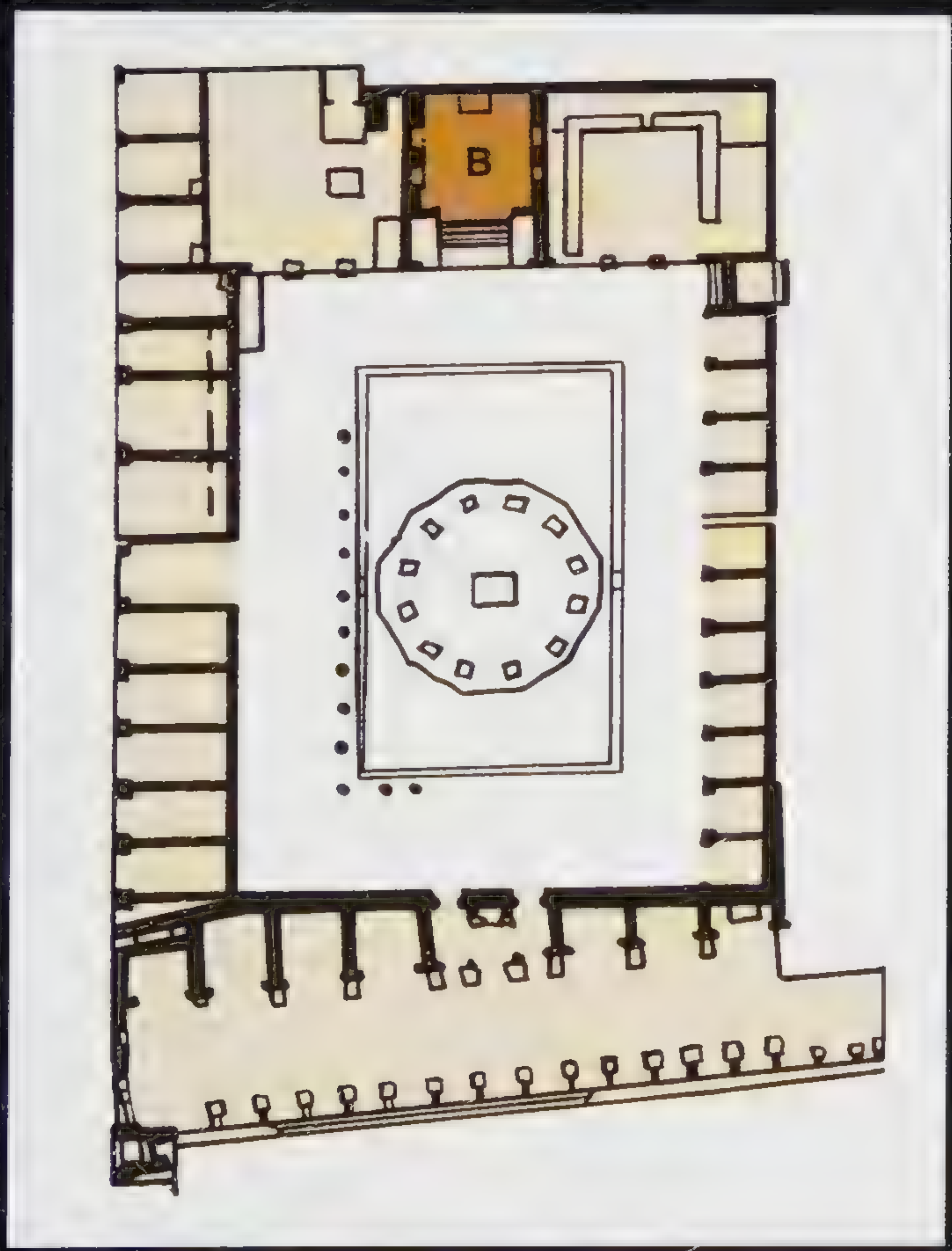
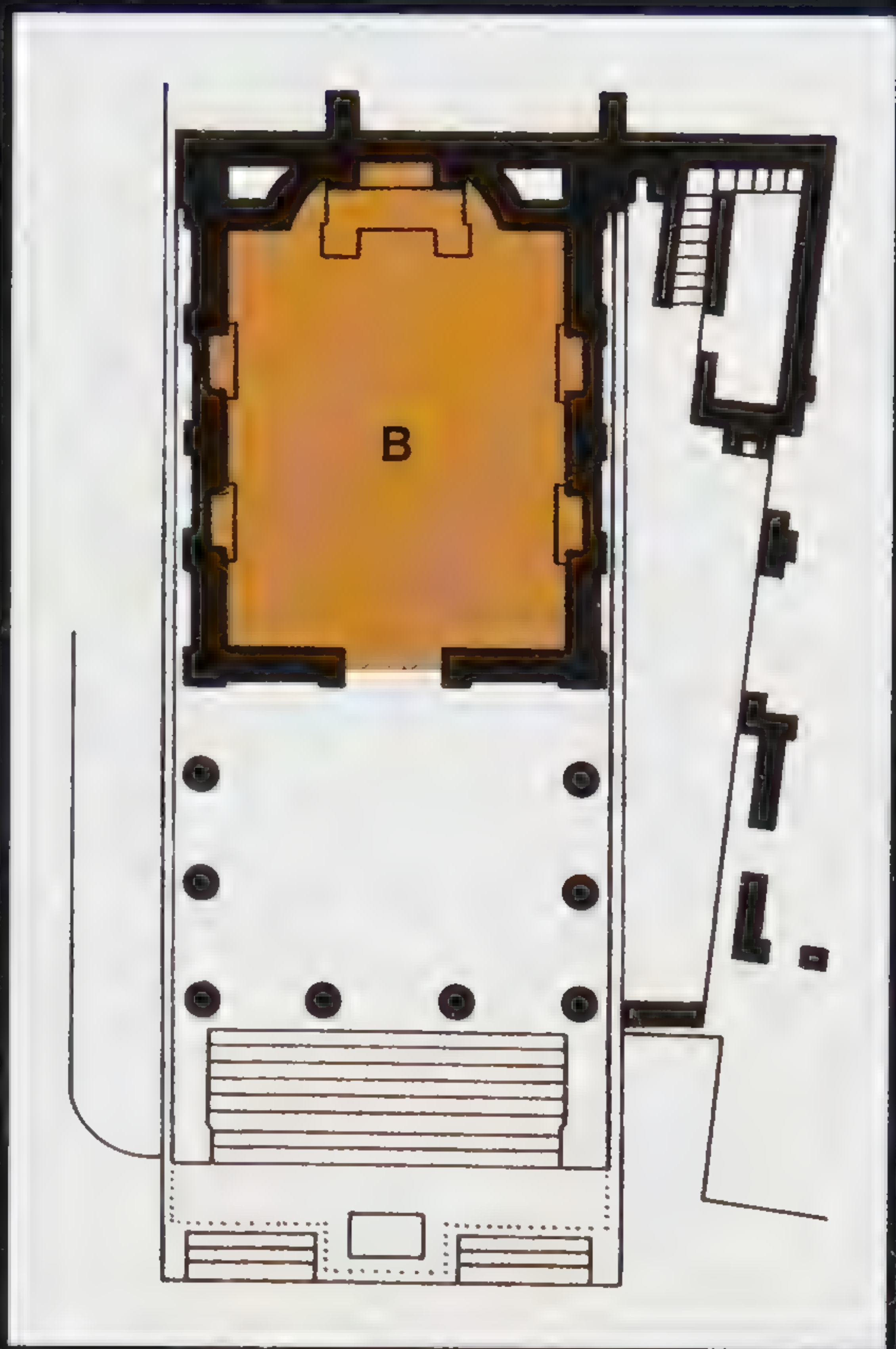
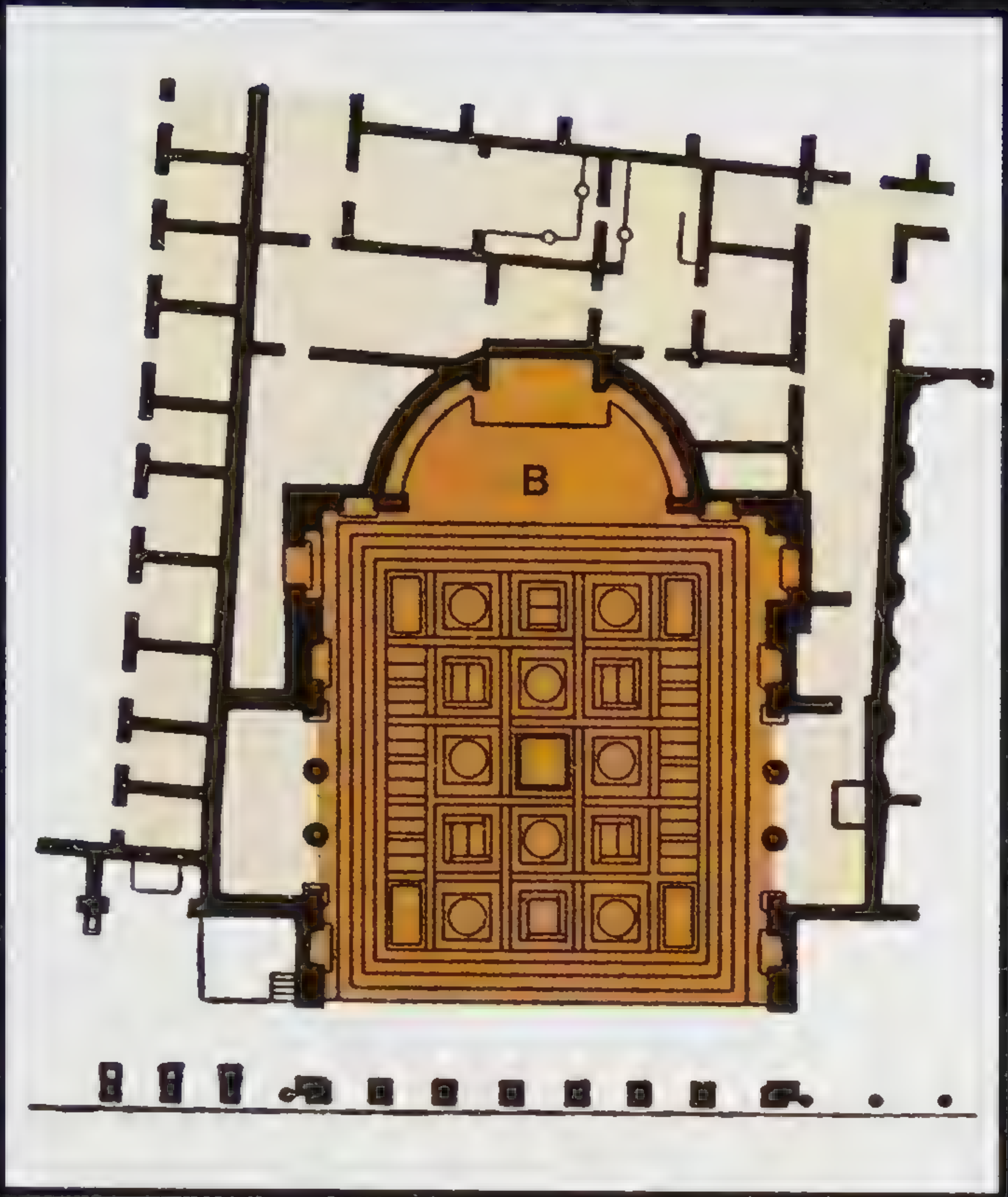
Libraries at Pompeii? One characteristic architectural feature of Roman libraries under the Empire, the existence of rectangular niches, has led to the conjectural or provisional identification of certain buildings or rooms as libraries when their actual function is not attested and cannot be guessed from their position in relation to other buildings nearby. One of those is the Lararium in the Forum at Pompeii, situated between the market and the Temple of Vespasian,⁸ which had been tentatively identified as a library even before Cagnat published his paper on provincial Roman libraries. It is a rectangular room terminating in a large semicircular recess, and it has eight rectangular niches arranged symmetrically, which may have held statues. Similar hypotheses have been advanced in relation to three more rooms in various buildings at Pompeii: the Temple of Fortuna Augusta,⁹ the central hall of the Macellum¹⁰ and the West 'Curia' in the south wing of the Forum.¹¹

2. *Plan of the putative library in the Lararium at Pompeii, drawn by A. Mau.*

3. *Plan of the Temple of Fortuna Augusta at Pompeii, drawn by J. Overbeck.*

4. *Plan of the Macellum at Pompeii, drawn by J. Overbeck.*

5. *Plan of the West 'Curia' at Pompeii, drawn by J. Overbeck.*



Even though there are no data actually proving that public libraries existed at Pompeii or Herculaneum – two large cities in southern Italy with a rich cultural tradition, whose fates came to be linked by the catastrophic eruption of Vesuvius – we do at least have firm evidence of private libraries in



6. View of the stoa with exedrae and a library in the House of Menander at Pompeii.



7. The playwright Menander, reading. Fresco in the House of Menander at Pompeii.

aristocratic villas in both cities, such as the House of Menander at Pompeii and the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum.

In the luxurious and elaborately decorated mansion known as the House of Menander, there is a room – situated alongside an unroofed structure with exedrae on the south side of a large peristyle courtyard – which was probably designed for use as a library,¹² to judge by the row of sockets along the walls, which may have held the supports for a row of bookcases. This house took its name from the portrait of Menander in one of the two frescoes in the unroofed structure mentioned above:¹³ it shows the comic playwright sitting down and reading a papyrus roll, with another figure, perhaps Euripides, flanked by a tragic and a comic mask.

*The library
in the House
of Menander*

The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. The charred papyri found in a villa at Herculaneum on 19th October 1752 testify to more than the mere existence of yet another Roman library: both the owner of the villa and, even more, the user of this ‘philosophy workshop’ suggest that many of the villas of the Roman aristocracy had libraries that were not only used by their owners as private studies but served also as local provincial cultural centres for a closed or open circle of nearby residents, a sort of academy. Not that that was an innovation first introduced into Roman intellectual life in the first century B.C., that is in Cicero’s time, for we have already seen that Lucullus, in the middle of the second century B.C., had turned his villa into a cultural centre and home from home for any visiting Greeks and others too,¹⁴ and his library was open to anybody who wished to study his Greek books, which were rarities in those days.

The excavations in the Villa of the Papyri between 19th October 1752 and 25th August 1754¹⁵ brought to light its precious contents, including charred papyrus rolls. The remains of the rolls were found in five different places in the villa,¹⁶ in a variety of settings: some were stacked on wooden shelves, others packed into boxes, perhaps in readiness for being sent away, and others were scattered here and there in the villa. Altogether some 1,830 fragments were catalogued, corresponding to approximately 1,100 papyrus rolls. Since then a large number of them have been read with the help of various devices of increasing technological sophistication, from Piaggio’s machine¹⁷ to Kleve’s method.¹⁸ They have revealed a whole intellectual movement that revolved around that writing activity, of which we have indirect knowledge from other literary sources.

The owner of the villa is said to have been a prominent personage in Roman political life: Calpurnius Piso, Julius Caesar’s father-in-law,¹⁹ politician and orator, censor in 50 B.C. and a political rival of Cicero, with whom he traded polemical speeches. Around 75-70 B.C. Piso met Philodemus of Gadara in Naples and became a friend of his and his patron. Philodemus was installed in Piso’s villa at Herculaneum, a small seaside town a few kilometres south of Naples, where he lived and worked until his death (*ca.* 40 B.C.).

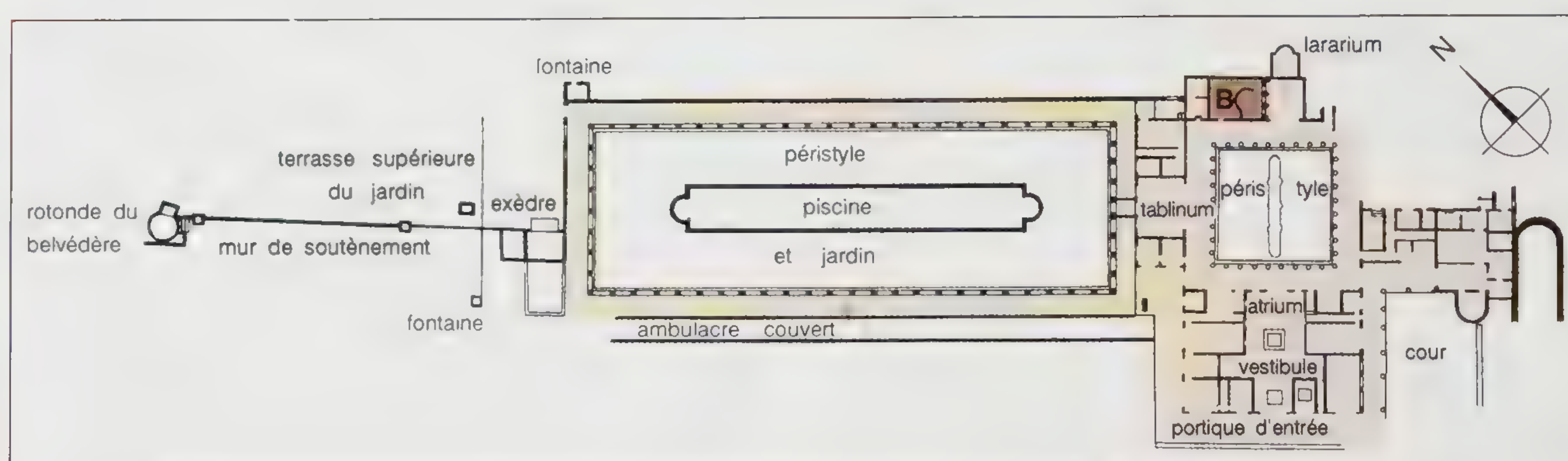
Philodemus,²⁰ an Epicurean philosopher who had studied under Zeno of Sidon, founded with Siro an Epicurean school at Pausilypon (Posillipo), near Naples. In and around this school there grew up a large circle of scholars by whom Virgil and Varro were introduced to Epicurean philosophy, and the members of the circle may also have included Horace, L. Varius Rufus, Quintilius

*The owner
of the villa*

*Philodemus’s
circle*

Varus and Plotius Tucca.²¹ Epicureanism had in any case won a much greater following in Rome than one would expect of a philosophical movement that was remote from everyday life. But this was the time of the civil wars, and many people sought refuge in the Epicurean view of the world in the hope of finding the tranquillity that all longed for. Moreover, Philodemus may have adapted some of the tenets of Epicureanism to the Roman way of life, notably the separation of political action from philosophical thought.

A study of Piso's villa reveals that it was not merely a large, complex building: it was carefully designed so as to offer an ideal way of living in which physical exercise was combined with philosophical activities.²² Added on to the main part of the villa, which was laid out round atria and peristyles,



8. Plan of the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, drawn by P. Gros.

was a library built round an exedra facing directly on to the spacious 'gymnasium', which was constructed in the middle or the third quarter of the first century A.D. The 'gymnasium' was surrounded by a peristyle courtyard with a pond in the middle: this led on to some smaller pleasantries, ideal for seclusion and quiet reflection, with fountains, exedrae and paths leading to a belvedere. Along the colonnades of the peristyle there were busts and herms of eminent Athenian statesmen of the fourth and third centuries B.C. and deities from Greek mythology. The design and layout were probably intended as a re-creation of the Garden of Epicurus in Athens.²³

The room in the villa where most of the carbonized papyrus rolls were found was almost certainly not the main library, but probably a writing or reading room supervised by Philodemus. J.J. Winckelmann gives a vivid description of this 'scriptorium': 'All round the walls there were cupboards like

9-10. Digital reconstructions of the library in the Villa of the Papyri. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.



those one sees in muniment rooms, standing as tall as a grown man. In the middle of the room there was another similar piece of furniture with storage for papyrus rolls on both sides, to allow free movement all round it.’²⁴ In other words, it was a bookcase plain and simple, containing the scribes’ multiple copies of Philodemus’s treatises or other work in progress and writings by other members of the Epicurean school awaiting distribution to the members of the circle. Clearly the room was not Philodemus’s private study, as none of the papyrus rolls found there was an autograph manuscript of his: they were all written by professional scribes.²⁵

Today, with the use of sophisticated ‘deciphering’ methods, it has been shown that while most of the papyri do indeed contain philosophical treatises, chiefly of the Epicurean school, the collection did not consist exclusively of Epicurean or even Greek writings. Among the works that have been read are some by Stoic philosophers and the *Logical Questions* and *On Providence* of Chrysippus,²⁶ while about a hundred rolls have been found to contain Latin poetry and prose, including works by Ennius and Lucretius and a poem about the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) whose author is unknown.²⁷ As already mentioned, the majority of these papyri contain treatises by Epicureans: there are some hitherto unknown works, multiple copies of some of Epicurus’s own writings (mostly excerpts from *On Nature*) and books by members of the Epicurean school such as Hermarchus, Polystratus, Carneiscus and Demetrius Lacon, of whose lives little is known.²⁸ But most of them are multiple copies of works by Philodemus,²⁹ who evidently remained in overall charge of the scriptorium in the Villa of the Papyri until his death.

Libraries in the East Roman provinces. It is no accident that all the libraries founded in the Roman period in the outlying provinces of the Empire were in the East. This was where the Greek language and Greek literature had developed and flourished continuously from the fifth century B.C., leading naturally to the foundation of the great libraries of Alexandria, Pergamum and Antioch, the prodigious expansion of book production and a huge increase in the circulation of books from the third century B.C. onwards. These developments were largely responsible for the distinctive characteristics of that literature.

At the same time the character of Greek education, which was adopted as the norm among the peoples of the Near East, encouraged the foundation of libraries in nearly all educational and research institutions, such as gymnasia, Museums, schools of philosophy and medicine and, of course, the centres

of higher learning. In the context of this educational and social organization, civic dignitaries – and private individuals too – donated substantial sums of money for the support of education and learning. A citizen of Cibyra, for example, bequeathed a large sum to pay the running costs of a gymnasium; a citizen of Pergamum, also anonymous, founded a gymnasium there; Celsus endowed a fine library housed in a monumental building; and an anonymous donor enriched the library of the gymnasium on Cos. Excavations have revealed that there were six gymnasia at Pergamum, three each at Tralles, Miletus and Thyatira and four in the small city of Iasus. Mention should also be made of the large libraries that were integral to the courses of higher studies in the Museums at Smyrna, Ephesus and of course Alexandria, and in the medical schools of Pergamum and Ephesus.

As mentioned in the first volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization*, private, public and gymnasium libraries existed here and there in the Near East at least from early in the Classical period. Their existence is often a matter of supposition: sometimes the evidence comes from archaeological finds and inscriptions, sometimes they are referred to in literary sources, sometimes it is simply a matter of drawing logical inferences from known facts, and in many cases the existence of a library is an inescapable conclusion. Of the libraries in the Near East and North Africa discussed in this chapter, most are dated to the first century A.D. or later on the evidence of archaeological finds and similar data. However, there are some references from the first century B.C. to libraries in the great centres of learning of the Hellenistic period – libraries whose dates are not known for certain, such as the one at Smyrna mentioned by Strabo, who suggests that it may have been associated with the Homerieion there (Strabo, C 646) – and even to imaginary libraries such as the one said to have existed in the mid third century B.C. aboard a giant ‘ocean liner’, the *Syracusia*, as Athenaeus mentions with reference to a passage from the tragedian Moschio:

*A floating
library*

Adjoining the Aphrodite room was a library large enough for five couches, the walls and doors of which were made of boxwood; it could contain a collection of books, and on the ceiling was a concave dial made in imitation of the sun-dial on Achradina.³⁰

The character of Greek education in the Near East and the prevalence of the Greek language over an extremely wide area stretching as far as North Africa were not the only factors that led to the formation of autonomous

libraries, which were often museums as much as libraries. Imperial policy, especially in the eastern provinces, favoured the Romanization of the indigenous peoples, who were granted privileges reserved for the Roman aristocracy and were integrated into the aristocracy's administrative system. These new members of the Roman upper class, in their turn, strove to build up their reputations and win 'divine' favour by functioning as local rulers, funding festivals of games and other festivities and paying for public buildings, including libraries; for it was libraries which, since the time of Augustus, had made the connection in the Roman mind between books and the cult of Apollo, with the result that the Romans regarded libraries as temples of knowledge. Similar instances of endowment by private individuals are the libraries of Pantaenus in Athens, Celsus at Ephesus, Severianus at Sagalassus and Rogatianus at Thamugadi, among others.

The first four libraries built outside Rome in Trajan's reign, on the evidence of archaeological finds and inscriptions, date from the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D. They are examples of the practical action to promote the reading of books, spearheaded by private citizens, that was characteristic of those years and the ensuing period in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. The libraries in question are those of Pantaenus in Athens, Celsus at Ephesus, Lucius Flavius at Dyrrhachium and Titus Flavius Soclarus at Delphi.

The Library of Pantaenus. In the very heart of Athens, facing the Panathenaic Way near the edge of the Agora, a library dedicated to the Athenians and Emperor Trajan was built between A.D. 98 and 102.³¹ The library's founder was Titus Flavius Pantaenus, son of Flavius Menander, perhaps the principal of a (philosophy) school(?). According to the dedicatory inscription, his benefaction comprised not only the library building and the books but also the surrounding stoas and the peristyle, and we are also informed that his children Flavius Menander and Flavia Secundilla contributed to the costs.

Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβα[σ]στῶ Νέρβα
Τραϊανῶ Γερμανικῶ καὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν
Φιλοσόφων Τ. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου διαδόχου
υἱὸς τὰς ἔξω στοάς, τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν
βιβλίων, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μετὰ τῶν
τέκνων Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου καὶ Φλαβίας Σεκουνδίλλης ἀνέθηκε.³²

The library is an unusually asymmetrical building bounded by three porticoes: one along the Panathenaic Way, one facing the south end of the Stoa of Attalus and the third facing the road between the Greek and Roman Agoras. The main entrance was a doorway in the portico on the Panathenaic Way, with the dedicatory inscription on the lintel, which led in through a roofed vestibule into the open courtyard. The library as such probably comprised the three rooms opening on to the courtyard, each fronted by a colonnade. A peristyle, erected later in the middle of the courtyard, may perhaps have been added to give library users and staff an area where they could read or copy manuscripts in the fresh air, when the weather allowed it. The only communication between the library rooms was through the courtyard and, according to the plan in Camp's book, there was on the north side another way into the library through another vestibule leading in from the portico between the Greek and Roman Agoras. The rest of the building consisted of rooms used as shops, opening on to the three porticoes.³³



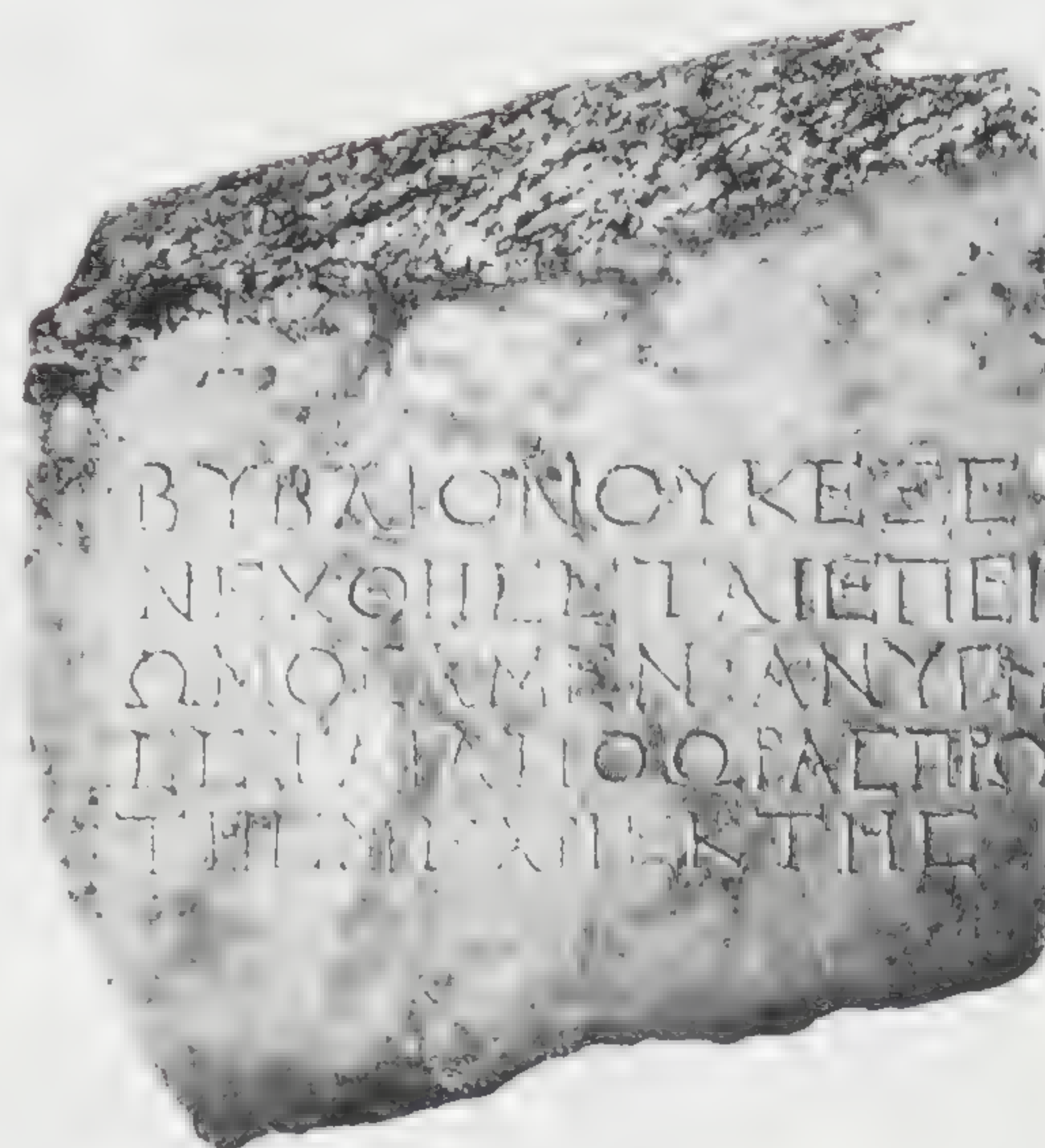
11. Plan of the Library of Pantaenus with its three porticoes, drawn by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.



12. Reconstruction of the marble-paved street connecting the Classical Greek and Roman Agoras, with the north portico of the Library of Pantaenus along one side of it. Drawn by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.

As far as we know, the Library of Pantaenus was the first public library in Athens that was autonomous, in the sense that it was not attached to a gymnasium or philosophy school. From the way the lettering of the inscription encroaches on the decorative border and moulding of the lintel, it can be inferred that the library was built on the foundations of an earlier building, perhaps a philosophy school where Flavius Pantaenus's father may have taught, and probably Flavius himself also.³⁴

The finds brought to light so far tell us nothing about how the library was laid out, how the bookcases were arranged or how the rooms were decorated, except that the floor and walls were faced with marble, at least in the large rectangular hall behind the five columns of the façade. Fragments of a statue of Trajan found by the excavators, dated to after A.D. 102, confirm that the Emperor was venerated in the library with the title of Traianus Germanicus Dacicus (following his victory over the Dacians).³⁵ A second statue in the library, probably of another god or goddess, stood on a base with an inscription stating that it was an offering dedicated by the priest Herodes Atticus of Marathon.³⁶



13. The regulations of the Library of Pantaenus inscribed on marble. Athens, Agora Museum.

The library regulations were carved on a marble stele or wall plaque:

No book shall be taken out, since we have sworn an oath to that effect.

*Opening hours six a.m. to twelve noon.*³⁷

Presumably it was a lending library, whose staff were bound by a code of internal rules and regulations which dictated the rationale of its operation.

Many questions remain unanswered concerning the library's founder and the collection of books he donated to the Athenian people. Nothing is known about the other members of Pantaenus's family, nor about the status of his father. According to T. L. Shear, the Pantaenus who endowed the library may have been the eponymous archon of Athens whose name is recorded as [P]antainos Garg[ettios], but B. D. Meritt contends that he was definitely not an Athenian.³⁸ Nor do we know whether the books in the library came from the collection of the founder's father or were bought specifically for the library.

*The library
regulations*

What is more, the title attributed to the founder, Flavius Pantaenus³⁹ – who is described as *ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν Φιλοσόφων* ('priest of the philosophers' Muses') – is not recorded in any other Athenian inscription: in fact 'the Muse of Philosophy' is referred to only once in ancient literature, by Plato (*Republic*, 548c).

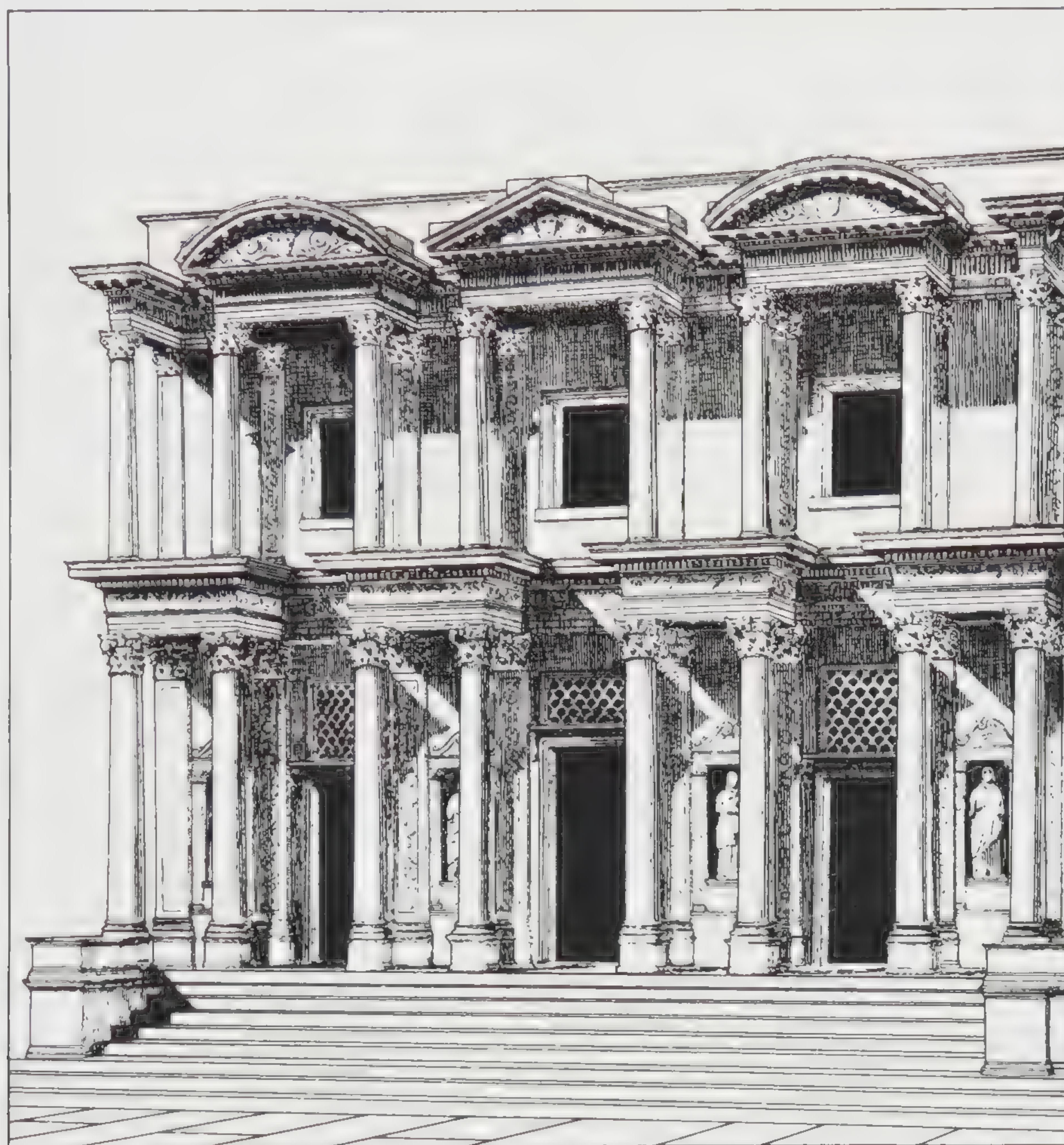
The Dyrrhachium public library. Epidamnus, a city on the Adriatic coast of Illyria that was renamed Dyrrhachium by the Romans, must have had some tradition as a centre of books, at least from the first century B.C. It was the safest port of arrival for travellers making the journey from Italy to Greece, especially if they were bound from Brundisium to Epirus and the littoral of the Ionian Sea.⁴⁰ As we have seen, Atticus, who was active in Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova, trading with the indigenous inhabitants and Roman settlers, ran some kind of workshop for copying and distributing books, not only for Epirot readers but also for the market in Rome, Athens and even further afield. Using his fabled villa, the Amaltheum, as his base, he often travelled to Dyrrhachium to meet friends arriving from or leaving for Italy, as we know from Cicero's letters to him.⁴¹

The only evidence we have for the Dyrrhachium public library comes from an inscription built into the city wall, which was copied by Léon Heuzey in the mid nineteenth century but is now lost:

*L. Fl(avio) T. f. Aem. Tellur[i?] Gaetulico, eq(uo) p(ublico) hon(orato) ab imp. Caes. Traiano Au[g.], praef(ecto) coh. II equitat(ae) Hisp(anorum) Germ[an(ia)] sup(eriore), IIvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali), pontif(ici), part(ono) col(oniae), qui in comparat(ione) soli oper(i) byblio[th(ecae) sestertium] CLXX m(ilibus) f(aciundo) rem p(ublicam) impend(io) levavit et ob [ded(icationem) e]ius [ludos d(e)] s(ua) p(ecunia) gladiatorib(us) p(aribus) XII edi[dit] ...*⁴²

According to the inscription, this public library must have been opened in Trajan's reign (98-117), having been endowed by Lucius Flavius Tellurius(?) Gaetulicus at a cost of 170,000 sesterces.⁴³ Lucius Flavius came from a family of Roman citizens and he himself was elevated to the rank of *eques* (knight) by the Emperor in recognition of his military prowess in the Spanish war. The agnomen Gaetulicus may have been given to his father during Trajan's campaign against the Getae.

The Library of Celsus at Ephesus. The library at Ephesus known as the Library of Celsus is not merely the best-known to the general public of all ancient libraries: having been restored *in situ*, it provides the most complete picture of a library that has survived since the time of the Graeco-Roman civilization. Like the Library of Pantaenus in Athens, it was not attached to any educational, recreational or commercial institution such as a gymnasium,



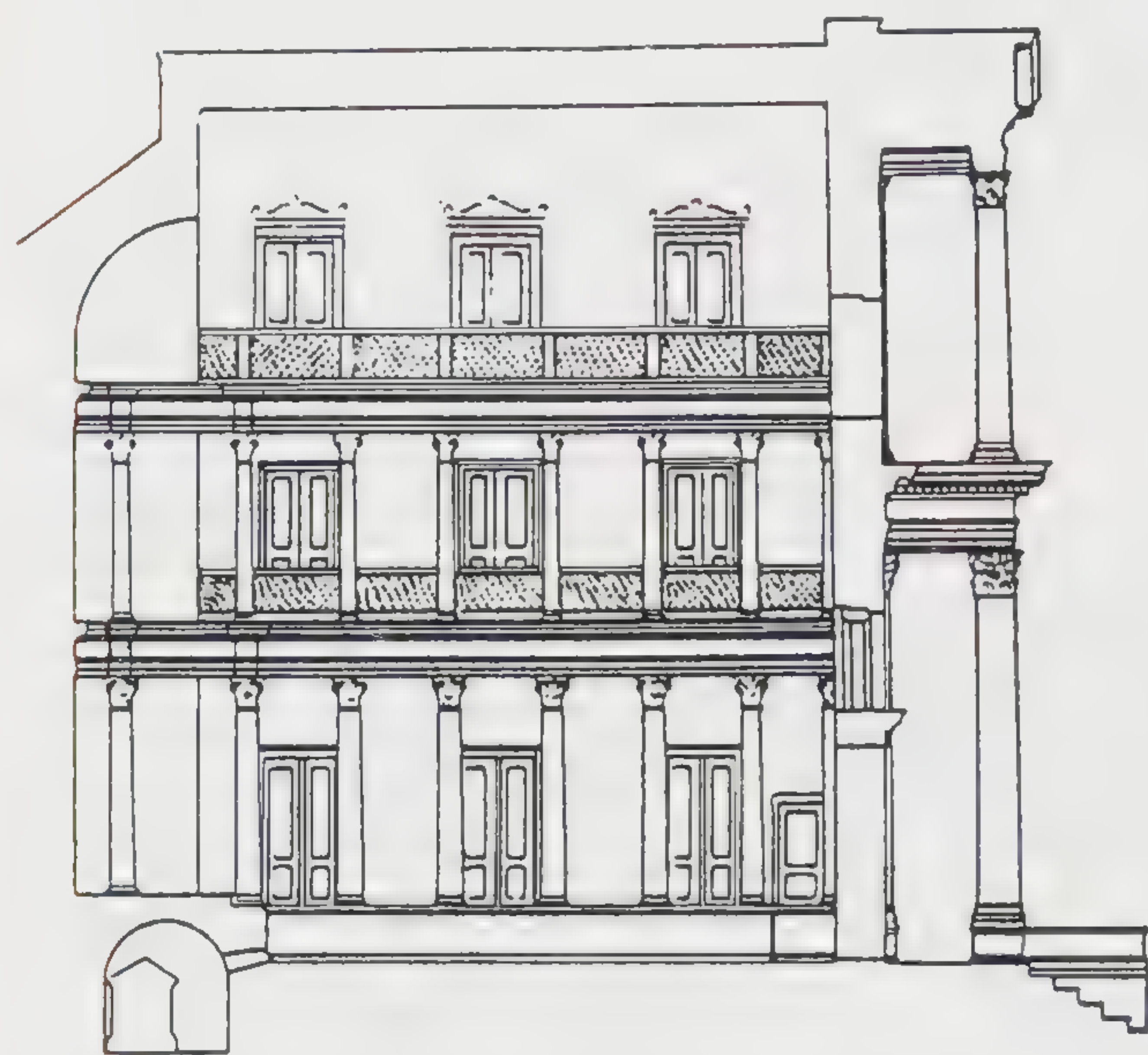
14. *Conjectural reconstruction of the façade of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, drawn by W. Wilberg.*

a bath-house or a market. Although much ink has been spilt since the library was excavated and rebuilt, I believe that any fresh discussion of the subject will add something new to our knowledge of the library.

The first point to note is that the library was built at Ephesus in Trajan's reign.⁴⁴ Its founder came of a Greek family from Sardis, the Celsus family, whose members had been granted Roman citizenship, and some of them had held official positions in the service of the Empire. The founder's father, the consul Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, had been the proconsul for Asia in

*The Celsus
family
background*

A.D. 92, and in 106 or 107 governor of the province of which Ephesus was the capital.⁴⁵ The decision to found the library was taken by Celsus's son, Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus,⁴⁶ who enjoyed special privileges and used



15. Vertical section of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, drawn by W. Wilberg.

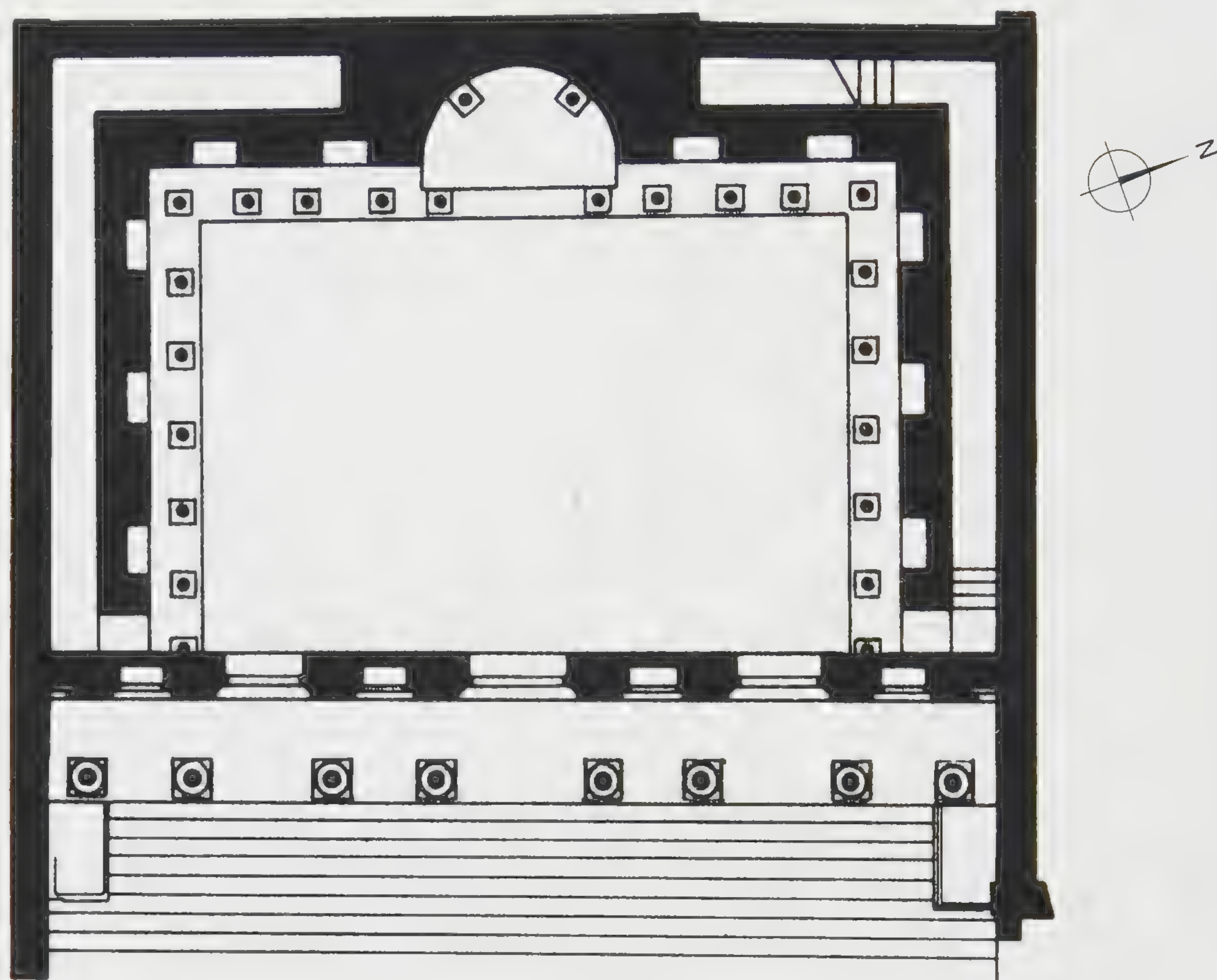
the building as a mausoleum for his father, whose body he buried in a sarcophagus in a crypt.⁴⁷ Polemaeanus, to ensure the longevity of this foundation of his, was not content with financing the construction of the library but also gave it a capital endowment of 25,000 denarii, the interest on which was apparently enough to pay for purchases of new books, the payment of staff salaries and the organization of ceremonial rites, probably in memory of his late father.⁴⁸

[Τιβερίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Κέλσῳ] Πολεμαιανῶ, ὑπάτῳ, [ἀνθυπάτῳ τῆς Ἀσί]ας, Τιβ(έριος) Ἰούλιος Ἀκύλας [Πολεμαι]ανός, ὕπατος, ὁ υἱός, τὴν Κελσι[αν]ὴν βιβλιοθήκην κατ[ε]σκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν [ιδίων] σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσ[μ]ῳ καὶ ἀναθήμασι [καὶ βυβλ]ίοις· κατέλιπε δὲ κ[αὶ] εἰς ἐπισκευὴν αὐτῆς [καὶ ὠνὴ]ν βυβλίων * μ[υρι]άδας δύο ἡμισυ, ἐξ ὧν ὑφη[ρέθη], β ἐπι[ε]τῇ, ὥστ[ε] μενόντων τῶν ἀρχαίων * δισμυρίων, γ [ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος γιγνομένων] τόκων ἐπισκευ[ά]ζεσθαι τὴν βιβλιοθήκην κ[αὶ] τοὺς προσμένον[τας αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν *], ἀ αὐτοῖς χορηγη[θ]ήσεται ἐπὶ [...εἰ]ς αἰ· κ[αὶ] ὁμοίως] κατὰ δια[θήκην τοῦ Ἀκύλα κατ' ἔτος ἀγορ]άζ[εσθαι νέα] βιβλία· ὁμοίως καὶ στεφανοῦσθ[αι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας αὐ]τοῦ τρις [τ]οῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· ὁμοίω[ς κοσμεῖσθαι τὰς ἄλ]λας εἰκόνα]ς κατ' ἔ[τος] ἐν τῇ ἐο[ρτῇ ...]. Ἐπιτελεσθείσης ἀπὸ τῶν *, β, ἀ] ὑφηρέθ[η, ὑπ' α]ὐτῶν τῶν κληρονόμων τῆς λοιπῆς ἐπισκευῆς καθιερώθη] ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῇ τοῦ Κέλσο[υ ἐορτῇ;], ὥστε μηνὸς ...ῶνο]ς ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν χρη[μάτων ...] σ[...τῶ]ν ἐνγεγρ[αμμέν]ων κατὰ τὸ ρῆτὸν τῆς διαθήκης μή[τε γραφὰς; μήτε] κατ[α]ρήσ[εις μήτε] ἀναλώματα ἐπιγενήσ[εσθαι αὐ]τοῖς, ἐντελὲς] ἀπαρτισάντων τῶν τοῦ Ἀκύλα κληρονόμων τὸ ἔργον ἐπιμεληθέν]τος κατὰ διαθήκην Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου Ἀριστίωνος τρις [ἢ ἀσιάρ]χου.⁴⁹



16. Photograph of the restored façade of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus.

The library we see today was rebuilt with spoil found during the excavations. It was situated behind the Agora, at the lower end of the Embolos or Street of the Curetes, which was used as a processional way.⁵⁰ It is a building whose façade was designed rather in the manner of a stage set – the first and only library definitely known to have incorporated the baroque architectural features of the Roman imperial period, as we shall see – in that it has no organic relationship to the interior: it is a two-storey façade masking a central hall that



17. Plan of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, drawn by W. Wilberg.

is three storeys high.⁵¹ The two-storey design necessitated three doorways framed by four two-column porches in the form of *aediculae*. At the inner end of each porch there was a niche holding a statue representing one of Celsus's four cardinal virtues: *Sophia* (Wisdom), *Arete* (Excellence), *Episteme* (Knowledge) and *Ennoia* (Thought). There is a similar structure on the upper floor, the only difference there being that the *aediculae* are crowned by pediments.

There is nothing original about the library's interior design and layout: it is a rectangular hall with a semicircular apse on its longitudinal axis. The apse

contained a statue, and along the walls on either side of it there was a row of rectangular niches containing bookcases. The library had three storeys: a ground floor and two galleries running round three of the four sides, supported by a range of columns standing on a continuous podium running along the front of the bookcases. It is possible that on the walls of the uppermost gallery there were paintings instead of bookcases. The library was 'boxed in' by two passages forming an L, terminating at the central apse and lying just inside the outer wall: these were reached by two doors just inside the building, one on each side of the main entrance. The purpose of these passages is open to interpretation: it has been suggested that they served to insulate the library, or alternatively that they were very large drains for rain-water. It is thought that there was some sort of light wooden structure giving access from the passages to the galleries, while the mausoleum, which lay beneath the central apse, was reached by a staircase hewn out of the rock in the corridor on the right-hand side.⁵²

The Library of Celsus does not seem to have been intended to promote knowledge or to meet the needs of the general public as an adjunct to a school or other educational institution: it is more likely that the whole building served primarily as a memorial, even though the founder's bequest expressly refers to purchases of new books. But quite possibly the auditorium mentioned in an inscription may have been associated with the library:

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ[η]. Ἡ πόλις τὸ σύστροφ[μα] τὸ πρὸ τοῦ αὐδειτωρίου
καὶ τῆς Κέλσου βιβλιοθήκης κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ προσόδων
κληρονομίας Ἰου[λία]ς Ποτεντίλλης.⁵³

Be that as it may, there is not one literary reference to the functioning of the library as such, nor to its contents. In the third century the building was destroyed by fire and no attempt was made to restore it. The point worth stressing here, for what it tells us about the enormous intellectual prestige of Ephesus at that time, is that the city had no less than six gymnasiums!⁵⁴

The library at Delphi. The evidence for the existence of a public library or a library attached to a gymnasium at Delphi is contained in a four-line inscription found in the courtyard of the small Monastery of the Panagia near Kastri, between the Marmaria and the Castalian spring, which was the site of the Delphi gymnasium in antiquity. The inscription dates from between A.D.

99 and 103, in Trajan's reign, and states that the Amphictyonic League of Delphi built a library with funds from the 'treasury' of Apollo when Titus Flavius Soclarus held the office of Epimelete (Superintendent):

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων ὑπὸ τὴν
Φλαουίου Σωκλάρου ἐπιμελητείαν τὴν βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύασεν.⁵⁵

Two other inscriptions found at Delphi confirm the involvement of Soclarus in the reconstruction of the House of the Pythia and the *strouktorion* (dining-room) of the gymnasium during his term of office.⁵⁶

An emperor as 'Minister of Culture' for the Mediterranean. Of all the emperors up to the time of Constantius II (337-361), the one who most distinguished himself in literature and the arts was Hadrian. Looking into his complex personality, one has the feeling that he was exceptionally interested in people and things, which may be explained by the fact that he saw himself as the protector of the intellectual and artistic heritage of Mediterranean civilization in all its manifestations.⁵⁷ Born of Spanish parents in Rome in A.D. 76, in his youth he showed an exceptional aptitude for his studies and a keen interest in all branches of knowledge, which led him to travel in later life to the farthest corners of the Roman Empire. Not for nothing did Tertullian call him 'the investigator of all curiosities' (*curiositatum omnium explorator*). Such was his enthusiasm for Greek that he came to be nicknamed *Graeculus*,⁵⁸ and it may well be that his independent spirit as an adult was moulded by his study of ancient Greek literature. In contrast to most of his contemporaries, he made it clear that he preferred Antimachus to Homer, Ennius to Virgil and Cato to Cicero. Although he surrounded himself with philosophers and writers, he never aligned himself with any particular philosophical school: in fact, displaying remarkable self-assurance and independence of mind, he was equally at home with 'natural philosophy' (i.e. the natural sciences) and with metaphysics. He was a prolific writer and left a large collection of poems to posterity. The grammarian Sosipater Charisius found his books in the libraries of Rome⁵⁹ before they were destroyed by the Goths, and in the ninth century Patriarch Photios found some of his writings when he was combing through the libraries of Constantinople.⁶⁰ But Hadrian's great love was architecture: it was he who adorned Rome with the Temple of Diana and that architectural marvel, the Pantheon, among many other buildings.⁶¹ To him, architecture was more than

just a creative urge, for in the grounds of his villa at Tibur, outside Rome, he put up a complex of buildings representing all the orders of Greek architecture (and other styles as well) to house the greatest achievements of Graeco-Roman civilization. It was in the pursuit of these interests that he became involved in a long-running dispute with the great architect Apollodorus of Damascus.⁶²

Hadrian came to the throne in 117, having been selected by Trajan, his predecessor and kinsman, to be his successor. A few years later he set off to travel all over the Empire, arriving eventually in Athens. From there he spent several months touring the whole of mainland Greece, returning in March of the year 125. In Athens it is thought that he stayed in one of the houses belonging to Herodes Atticus, who is known to have been a friend of his. Recognizing the fact that the city of Pallas Athena was still the undisputed centre of literary life, even in his time, he decided to make a place for himself in the city's history, as attested by the inscriptions on the arch that bears his name: on one side, 'This is Athens, the ancient city of Theseus,' and on the other, 'This is the city of Hadrian, not of Theseus.' Hadrian's contribution to the restoration and construction of monuments in all the countries of the Mediterranean basin is incalculable. He gave orders for the rebuilding of a large part of Jerusalem, which was in ruins following its capture by Domitian, and he also gave the new quarter of that city a new name of his own, Colonia Aelia Capitolina; at Cyzicus he built a truly magnificent temple of Artemis; at Antioch he restored the city wall; at Alexandria he erected various new buildings; and he founded the new cities of Antinoopolis in Egypt and Adrianople in Thrace.

*Hadrian
in Athens*

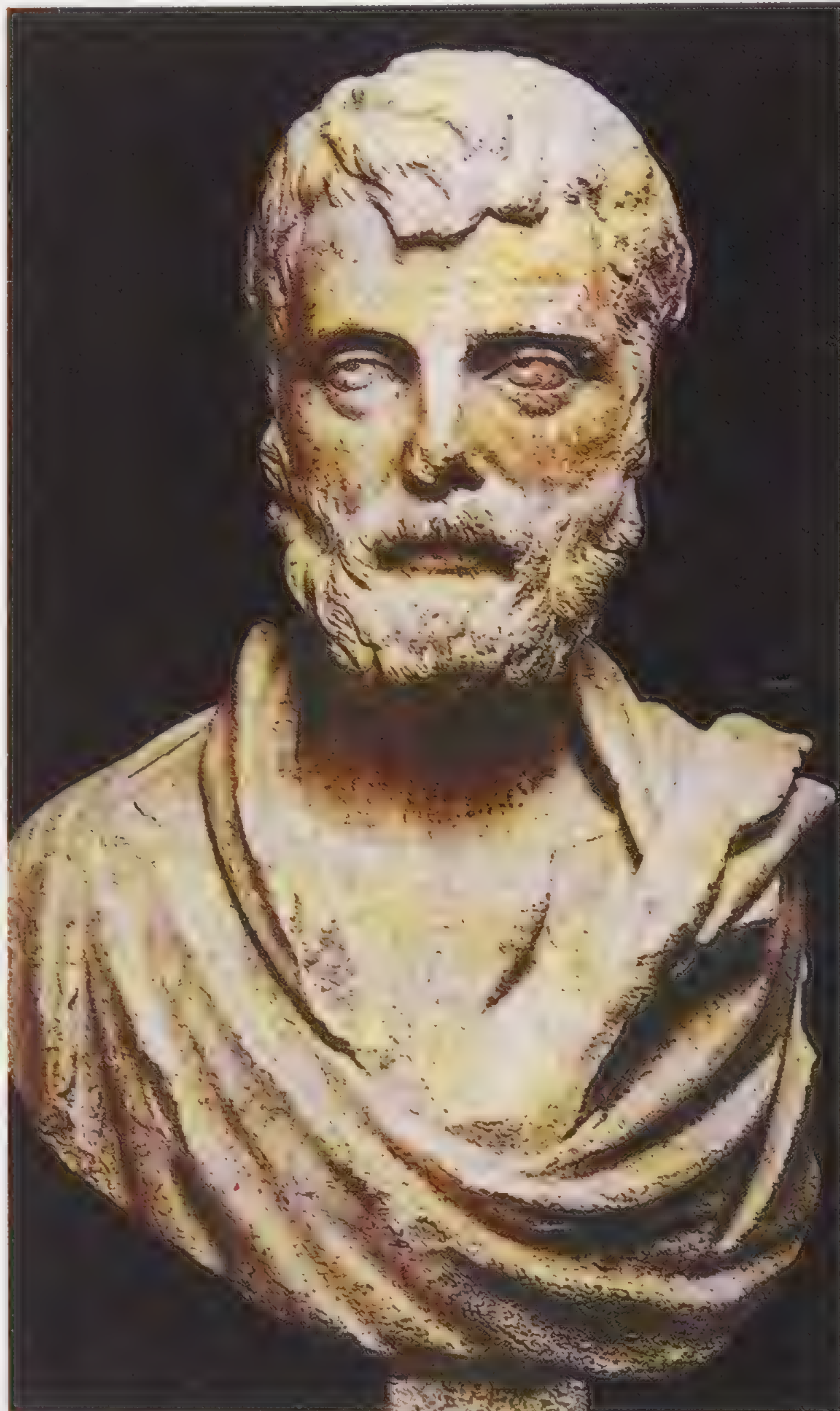


PUB. AEL. ADRIAN.

Published as the Act direct: 1797 by J. Wilker.

18. Portrait of Emperor Hadrian. Engraving by J. Wilker, 1797.

The first of the libraries founded by Hadrian was built in his 'second home', Athens, in about 132. With the Library of Celsus, it is one of the most splendid independent library buildings to have survived from the ancient era. A prominent figure who may have been largely responsible for Hadrian's decision to put up yet another public library in Athens was Herodes Atticus.⁶³ Herodes



19. *Bust of Herodes Atticus at Eua, Kynouria, mid 2nd c. A.D.
Athens, National Archaeological Museum.*

(Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes), born into a rich noble family at Marathon in 101, was a person remarkable not only for his own literary leanings but also for the liberality of his patronage of others and his refined tastes. He studied under the most renowned rhetoricians and representatives of the Second Sophistic (of which he became a distinguished member), including Scopelianus, Polemon, Calvisius Taurus, Secundus and Favorinus of Arelate (Arles).⁶⁴ His friendship with Hadrian probably dated from the time when the future emperor was proclaimed archon of Athens: that was probably the reason why the city's richest citizen was sent to greet him in Pannonia in 117/118, soon after Hadrian had acceded to the throne. Be that as it may, Hadrian was in Athens in 124/125, and it may have been

then that the decision was made to build a new independent public library, or rather a cultural centre run on the lines of a philosophy school, to judge by Herodes' general predilection for books and philosophy.

Herodes Atticus lived a cosmopolitan life, travelling from Athens to Rome and to centres of Hellenistic culture further afield, such as Alexandria; and in

*Herodes
Atticus*

this way he made the acquaintance of a wide circle of politicians, writers and scholars.⁶⁵ In 143, as already mentioned, he was in Rome as consul and tutor to Marcus Aurelius and Verus, the successors of Antoninus Pius. He won renown by his munificence in erecting monumental public buildings in Athens (the Stadium, the Odeum) and other Greek cities, and he gave lectures in the city of Pallas Athena, where his circle of pupils included some of the most eminent adherents of the Second Sophistic: Aelius Aristides, Aristocles of Pergamum, Pausanias of Caesarea, Ptolemy of Naucratis and the Roman writer Aulus Gellius. P. Graindor believes that he had libraries in every one of his houses, following the example of Cicero and Herodes' namesake, T. Pomponius Atticus. According to Gellius, Herodes had a library in his villa at Cephisia (where Gellius himself attended one of his lectures),⁶⁶ and most probably he had one in the family home at Marathon, one in his town house in Athens and one in Rome, where he is known to have kept the books given to him by his teacher Favorinus.⁶⁷ Besides these, of course, there must also have been a library in his grand villa at Eua in Kynouria, as we shall see.

Favorinus, a member of Hadrian's imperial entourage, was a prominent figure in the literary world who had a private library. That his library was well-stocked may be inferred from the encyclopaedic nature of his writings – the so-called *Omnigena historia* ('Miscellany') – for which he must have had access to books covering a broad spectrum of knowledge.⁶⁸ This library, together with his house in Rome and his Indian slave Autolecythus, he bequeathed to Herodes Atticus.⁶⁹ The latter, a consummate master of pure Attic prose, found time among all his other occupations to write a considerable number of books: epideictic orations, lectures, chronicles, letters and miscellanies. He died at Marathon in 177 and was buried in Athens.

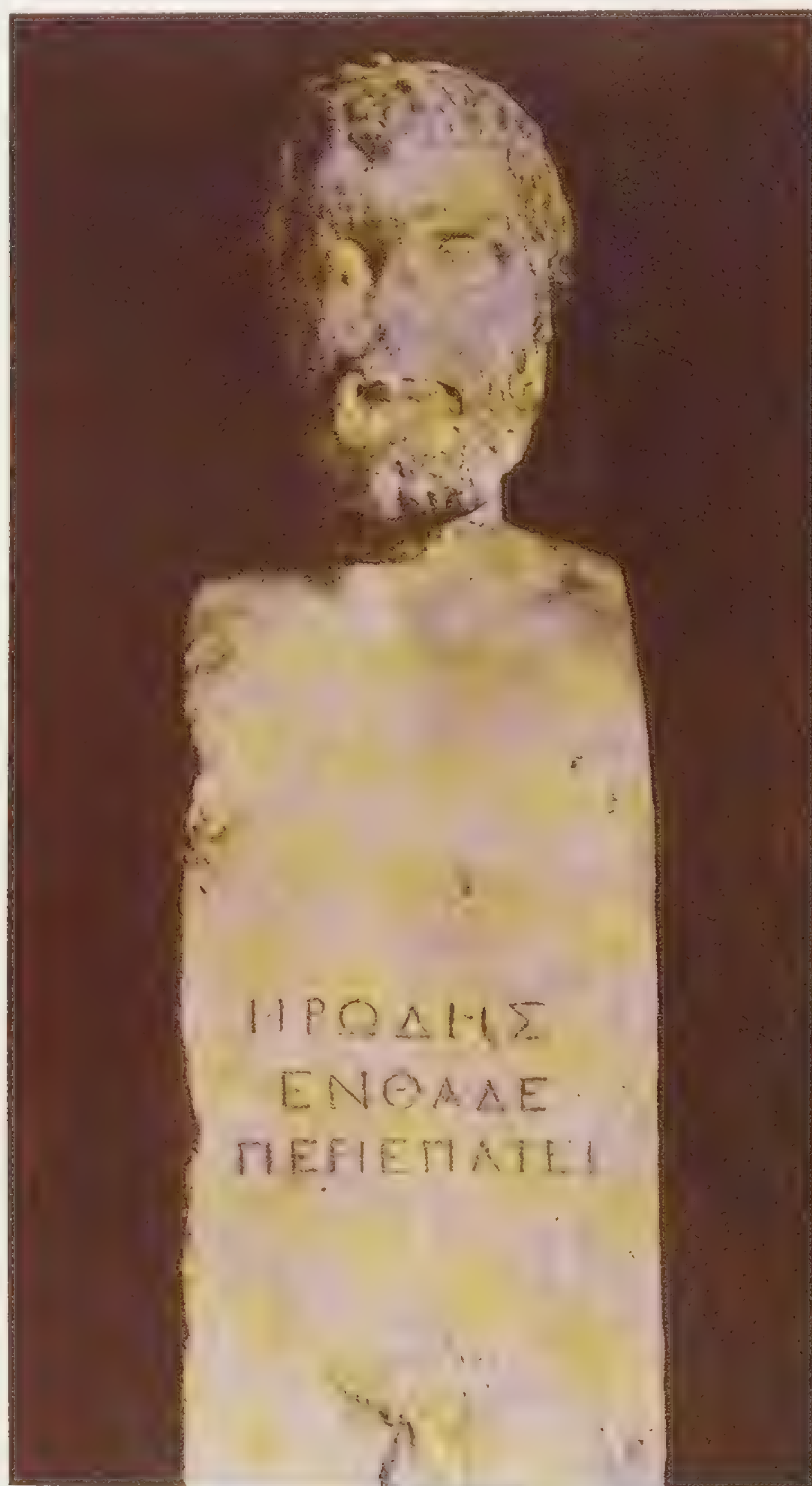
At the ancient city of Eua in Kynouria (eastern Peloponnese), opposite the Monastery of the Metamorfosi tou Sotiros (also known as the Loukou Monastery), archaeologists have excavated a villa that belonged to the family of Herodes Atticus. On the evidence of the finds from the excavations, the villa must have been built by Herodes' father, which would give it a date around the middle of the first century A.D. Its architecture follows the Roman pattern and calls to mind the typology of the early imperial period, examples of which are to be seen in Piso's villa at Herculaneum and Pliny the Younger's villa at Laurentum, mentioned earlier: in fact this villa could be described as a miniature version of Hadrian's at Tibur.⁷⁰ It was laid out on either side of a peristyle garden courtyard, which was surrounded by basilicas, naiskoi, a shrine of the

Nymphs and various other structures for private or communal use. On the north side of the courtyard was a large three-aisled basilica, with a semi-circular niche containing a statue of Athena on its horizontal axis. Among the outstanding items in the villa's elaborate ornamentation, besides the statues and

busts, were some beautiful polychrome mosaic floors.

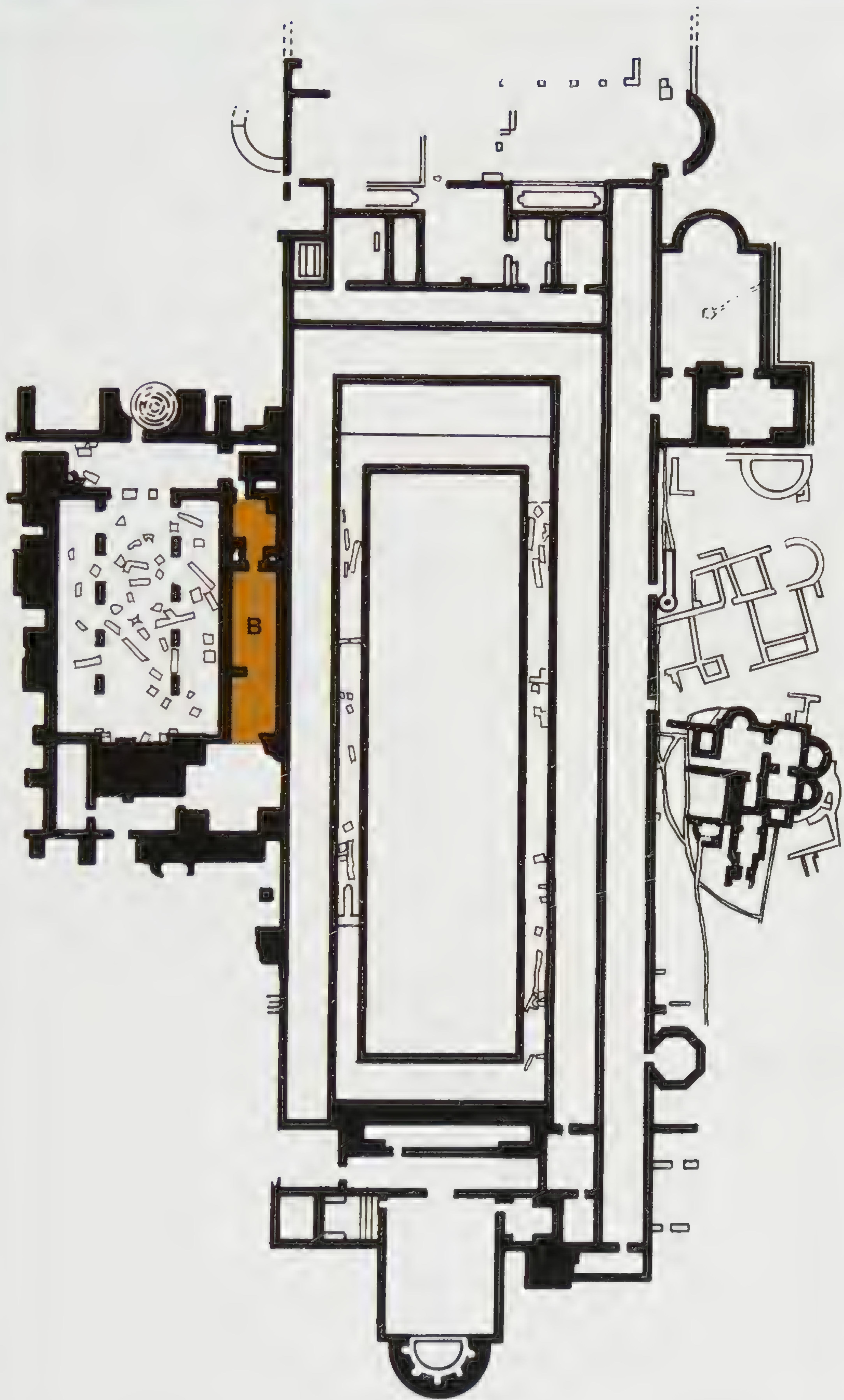
It was unthinkable that any villa of that size might be without a library, especially a villa belonging to Herodes Atticus, who apparently had book collections in every one of his town and country houses.⁷¹ The library proper consists of an oblong rectangular building abutting on the south wall of the basilica. Both its side walls bear evidence of rectangular niches which may have been used as bookcases. Pedestals and busts were found *in situ* here and there in the building: they may have been portraits of members of Herodes' family and perhaps other close friends.

Thanks to the beauty of the architecture and ornamentation, the social standing of Herodes' family and the patronage he bestowed on writers and artists, this villa came to be a mandatory stopping-place for travelling aristocrats and even emperors, as is proved by the statues and busts of Septimius Severus, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. This 'academy' maintained its prestigious standing for several centuries after the death of Herodes Atticus, down to about the sixth century.



20. Herm of Herodes Atticus, found at Corinth.

21. Plan of the villa of Herodes Atticus at Eua, Kynouria, drawn by G. Spyropoulos.



Hadrian's Library in Athens. To return to the subject of Hadrian's library, the first point to note is that the Emperor himself may have had a hand in its architectural design. It was considered an ornament to Athens and was described by Pausanias as the most famous building Hadrian bequeathed to the city:

Hadrian constructed other buildings also for the Athenians: a temple of Hera and Zeus Panellenios (Common to all Greeks), a sanctuary common to all the gods, and, most famous of all, a hundred pillars of Phrygian marble. The walls too are constructed of the same material as the cloisters. And there are rooms there adorned with a gilded roof and with alabaster stone, as well as with statues and paintings. In them are kept books. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; of this too the pillars are a hundred in number from the Libyan quarries.⁷²

The library was situated in the administrative and commercial centre of the city, near the Greek Agora and the Roman market. It represents the culmination of Hadrian's ambition to remodel the historic city centre and highlight the origins of the Graeco-Roman civilization by reference to the natural, historical, intellectual and artistic centre of antiquity. Aelius Aristides was not exaggerating when he said, on a visit to Athens after Hadrian's library was completed, that Athens possessed libraries that were unrivalled anywhere else.⁷³ Presumably he was thinking of all the public libraries and those of the gymnasiums and philosophy schools – the libraries of the Academy, the Lyceum, the Stoa, the Epicurean School, the Ephebeion and perhaps the Acropolis, and those of Pantaenus and Hadrian – as well as other private libraries.

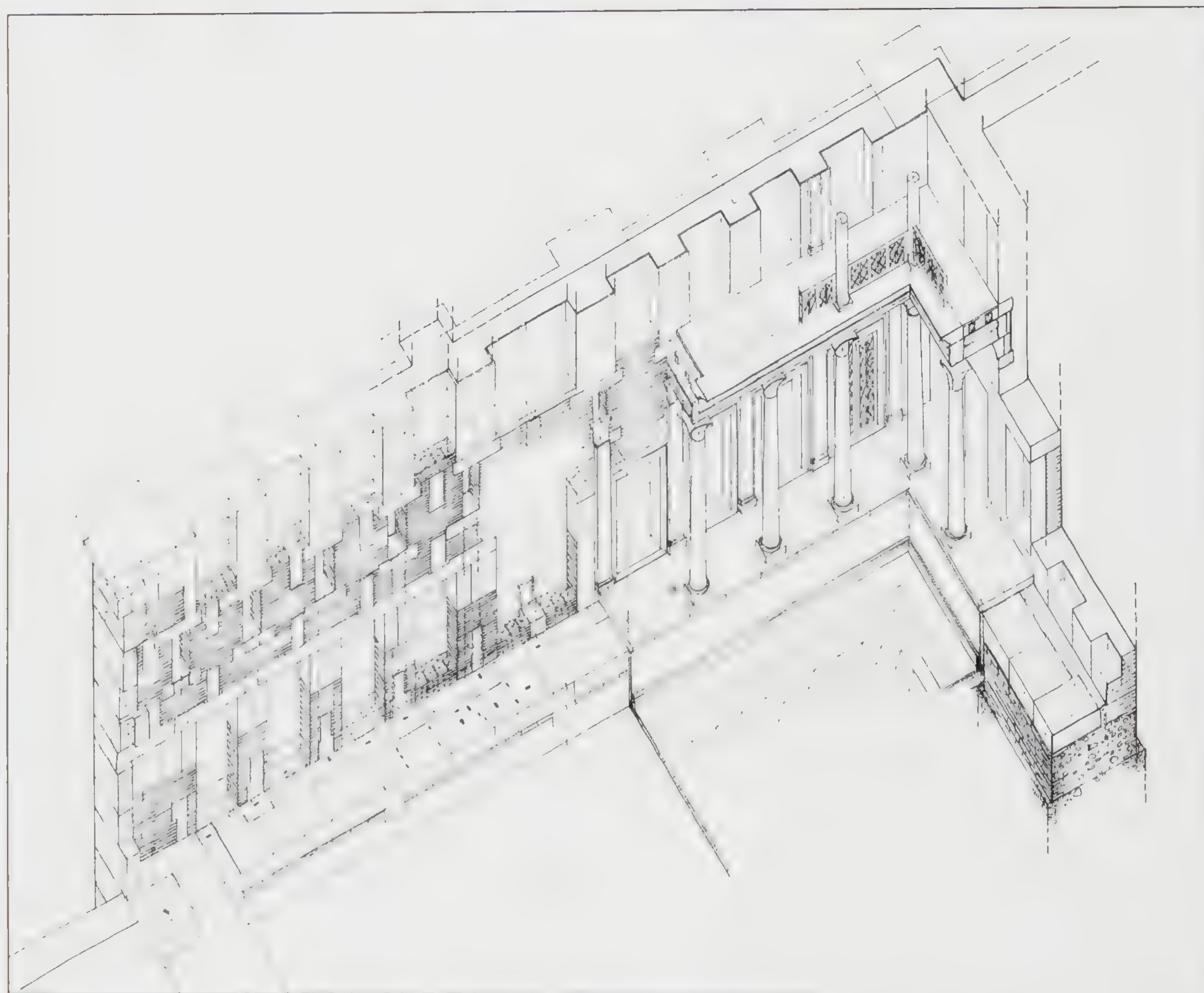
The design of Hadrian's library was inspired by that of Plato's Academy and also incorporates typological features (especially in the main library building) found in the 'Temple of Peace', which, as we have seen, was built in Vespasian's reign in the Forum of Vespasian.⁷⁴ It is a rectangular building, absolutely symmetrical, which was entered through a pedimented portico of four Corinthian columns. Stretching away to right and left of the portico was a row of free-standing columns lending a graceful decorative touch to the marble wall of the façade.⁷⁵ The portico led into a courtyard with a pond in

*The architectural
design of the library*

22. *The central section of the façade of Hadrian's Library. Print from J. Stuart and N. Revett, The Antiquities of Athens, vol. II, London, 1787.*



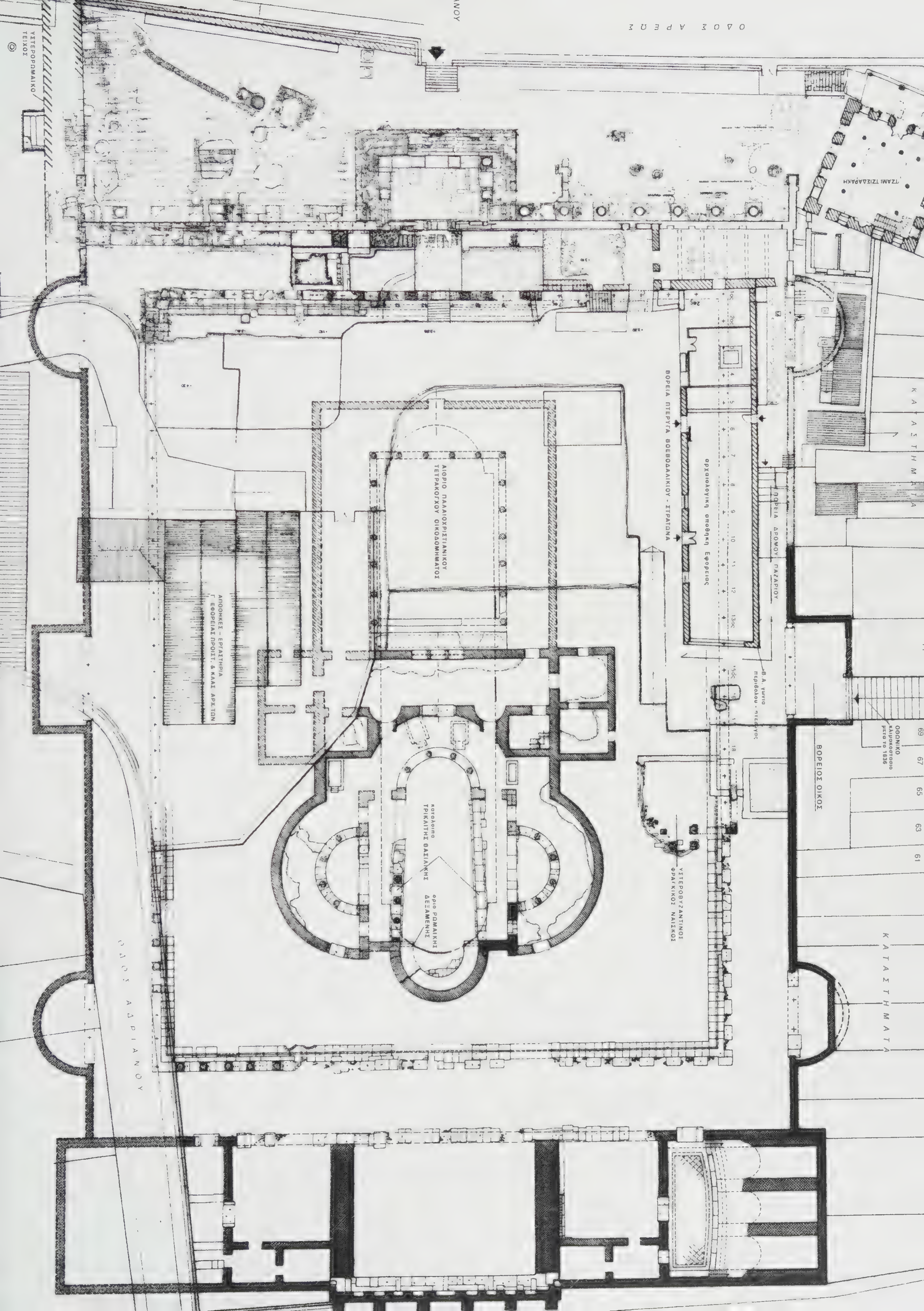
the middle and a peristyle forming a roofed cloister which may have served as a reading room and was certainly used for pacing up and down, contemplation and philosophical discussions. Each of the side walls of the stoa was broken by three recesses identical to those in the 'Temple of Peace', forming projections in the outer wall: one of the three was rectangular (an *oecus*) and

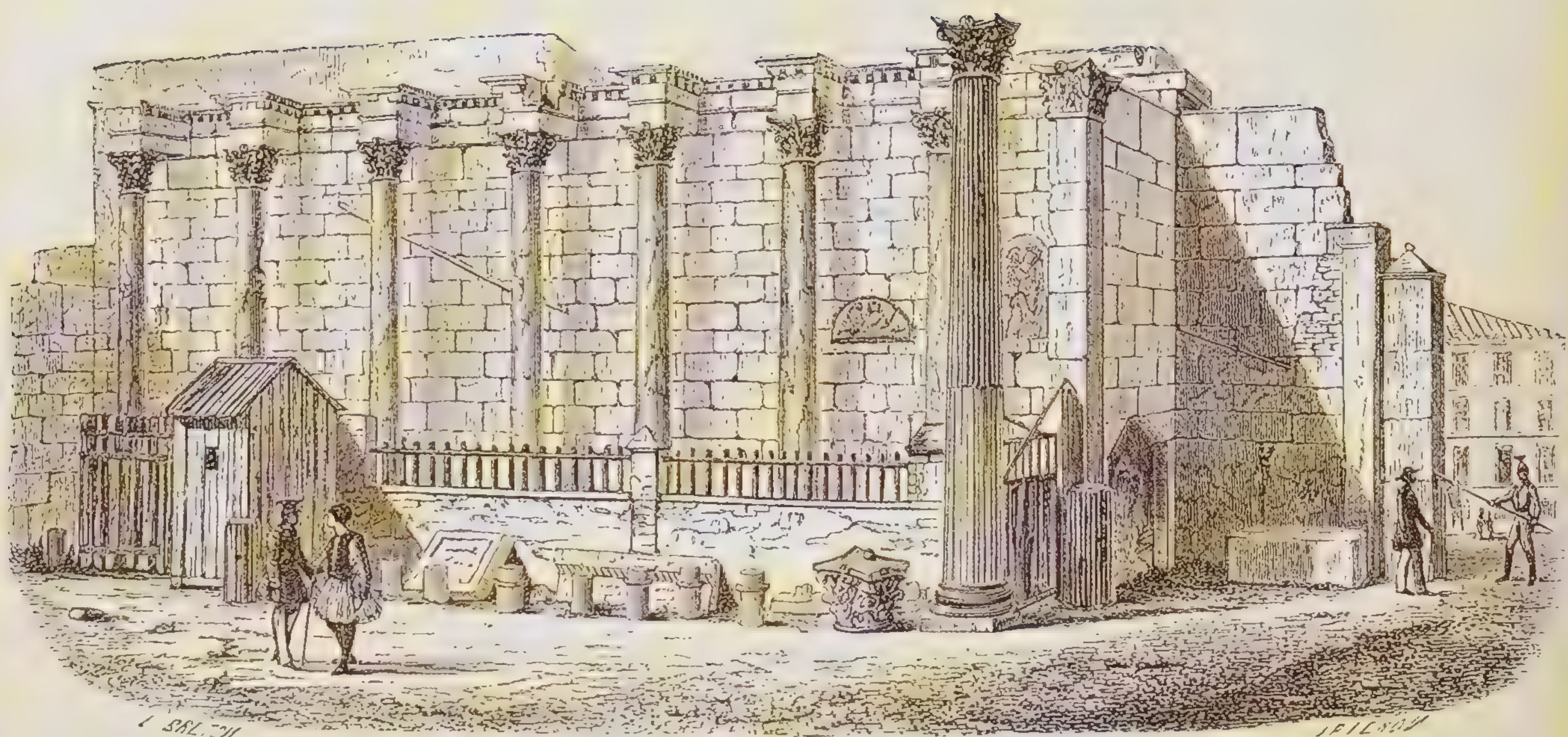


23. Axonometric drawing of the main room of Hadrian's Library, by Yanna Tinginaga.

the other two semicircular (*exedrae*). The library rooms were at the east end of the building, the middle one being the main book room and reading room.⁷⁶ The salient feature of the main library room is a high podium running round three sides: it served as a passage giving access to the bookcases and also as the base for a two-tier colonnade supporting an upper gallery with more bookcases. On the east side there was a row of rectangular niches, of which the central one was wider than the rest and was arched: it would have con-

24. Measured drawing of the present state of Hadrian's Library, by Yanna Tinginaga.





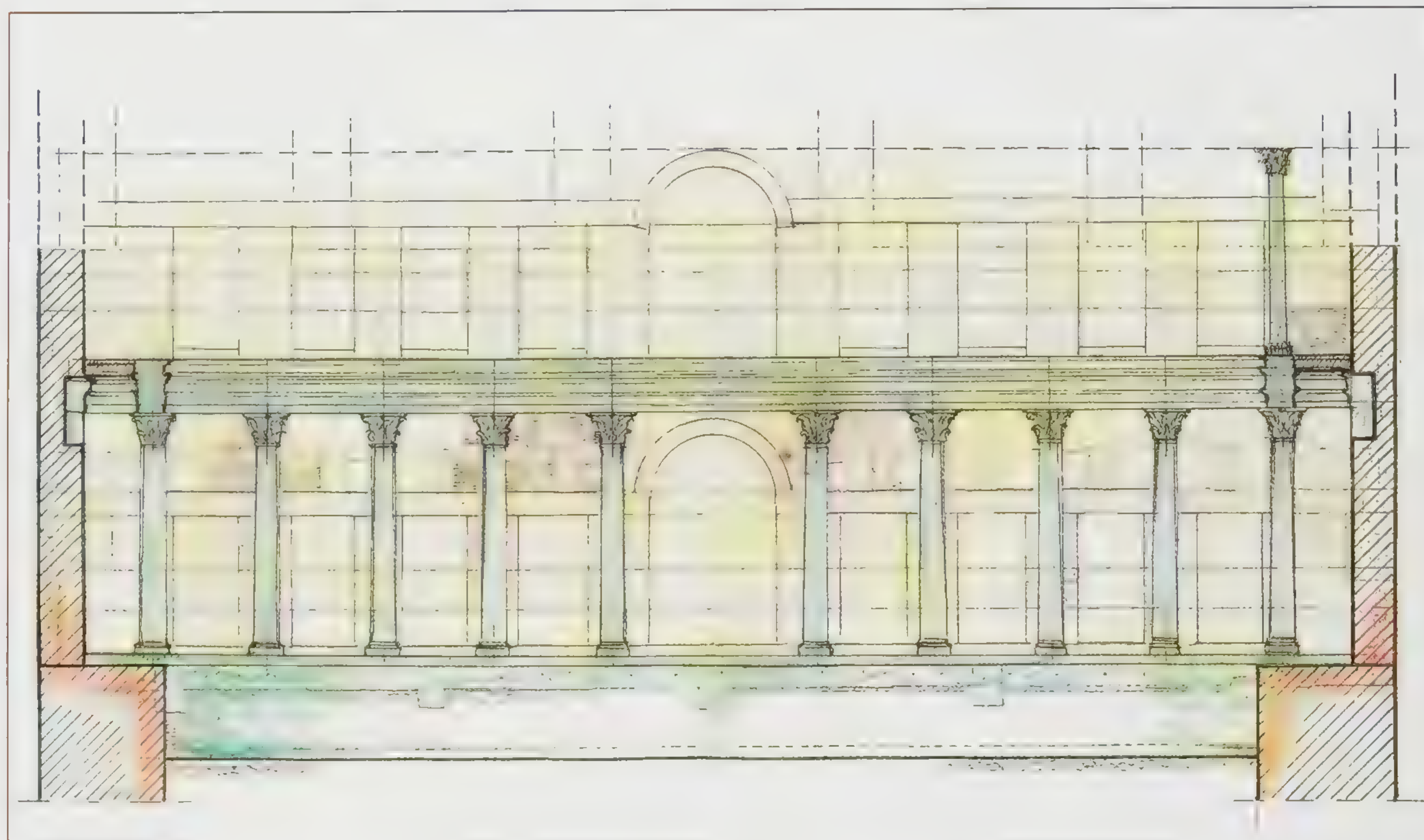
PORTIQUE D'ADRIEN.

TYP. J. CLAYE.





tained a statue. It, too, was rectangular in plan rather than semicircular, the more usual shape for the central recess containing the statue. The bookcases were ranged along three of the four walls, placed symmetrically about the central axis. In the west wall of the library hall, which was protected up to a certain height by the peristyle of the courtyard, there was probably a row of windows at the level of the upper gallery. This central part of the library was flanked by four rooms, again symmetrically arranged on either side of the middle room. The two smaller rooms, adjacent to the library, may have been



28. *Conjectural reconstruction of the west wall of Hadrian's Library, drawn by Yanna Tinginaga.*

used for purposes connected with the working of the library, for example as scriptoria or storerooms, with one of them perhaps serving as the librarian's office; and an internal staircase led up to the upper level of the main hall of the library. The two end rooms were auditoriums used for public recitations, lectures, discussion meetings and probably lessons.

Pausanias tells us that the building was supported by a hundred columns

25-27. *The outer colonnade of Hadrian's Library. Prints from: E. F. P. H. Breton, Athènes décrite et dessinée suivie d'un voyage dans le Péloponèse, Paris, 1862; T. du Moncel, Athènes Monumentale et Pittoresque, Paris, 1846; R. Pococke, A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. II, London, 1745.*

and the rooms had polychrome ceilings and alabaster walls, while statues placed in niches lent a suitable atmosphere of brilliance to this imperial foundation. Hadrian's library survived until 267, when the emperor reigning in Rome was Gallienus, but in that year it was destroyed and looted by the marauding Herulians. Thereafter no attempt was made to restore it to its original condition: as the years went by it was 'cannibalized' for building material, and eventually it was incorporated into the Late Roman city wall. In the fifth century Herculius, the proconsul of Illyricum, carried out some partial



29. *The ruins of the Tetraconch Building in Hadrian's Library. (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos, 2000.)*

repairs, and it was then that a large quatrefoil cathedral (the 'Tetraconch Building') was built in the central quadrangle.⁷⁷

Hadrian's library at Tibur. Hadrian most probably kept his private library in his grand villa at Tibur (Tivoli), outside Rome. This was no ordinary imperial villa but more like an imperial city, constructed on Hadrian's huge

estate 28 kilometres from Rome's Esquiline Gate. It was a vast complex of buildings that included theatres, stadia, temples, gymnasiums, palaestrae, bath-houses, residential areas, banqueting rooms, large ponds surrounded by peristyles, guest rooms, at least three libraries and a room for philosophical discussions, all linked together by stoas and broad paths and adorned with statues (originals and copies) and elaborate mosaic floors.⁷⁸ When Hadrian



30. The triclinium and reservoir in the grounds of Hadrian's villa at Tibur (Tivoli).

*The design
philosophy of the
villa at Tibur*

built this 'summer palace', his intention was to create a virtual image of the *Imperium Romanum* by installing typical examples of the cultural achievements of all the Roman provinces, with the emphasis on Greek art and architecture. And it is no accident that he often performed his imperial duties at the Villa Adriana, where, as we know from important inscriptions, he did some of his major decision-making.

Following in the imperial tradition, Hadrian built at least two libraries, one Greek and one Latin. To be more precise, they were described as libraries by Pirro Ligorio,⁷⁹ though that identification seems very dubious when they are compared with normal library design during the Roman period. The literary evidence concerning libraries at Tibur is limited to two passages in the work of Gellius. In one of these he refers to a book by Quintus Claudius which he

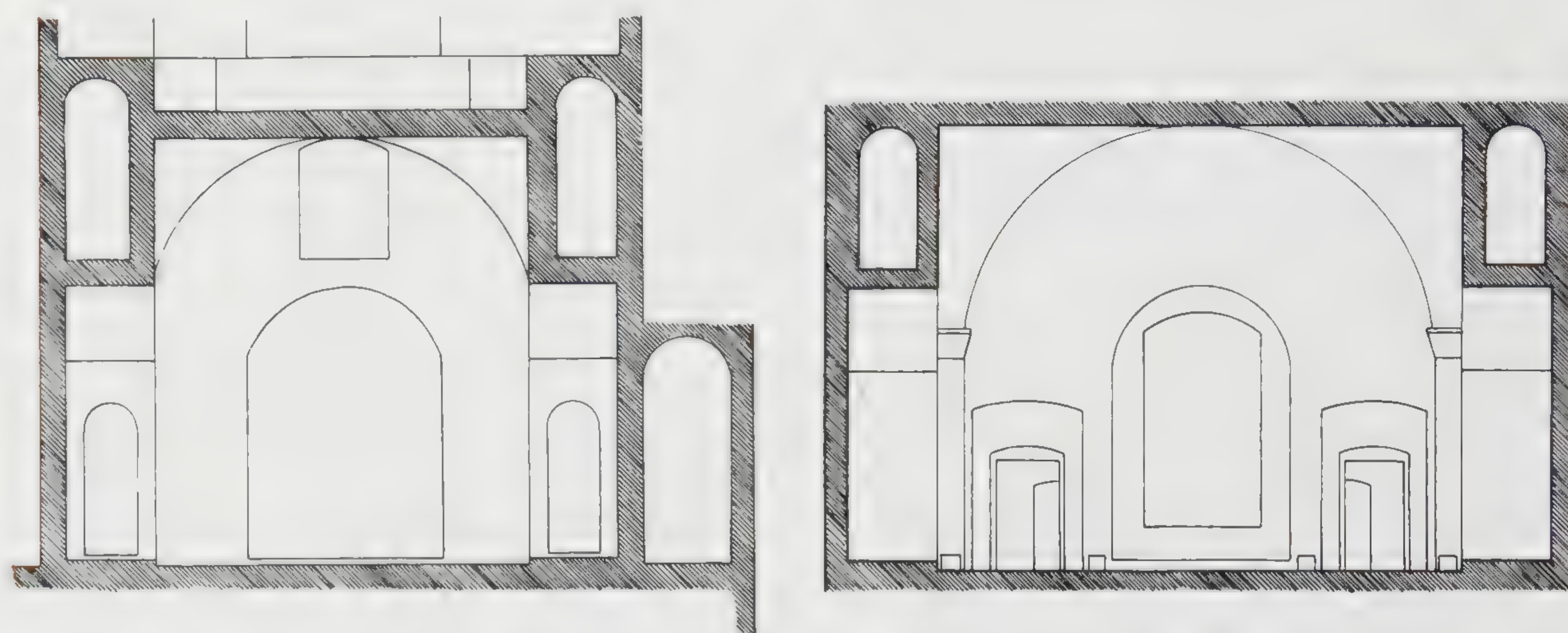
found in the library at Tibur, which leads him on to discuss the inflexion of the word *facies*.⁸⁰ In the other he describes a discussion with an adherent of the Peripatetic school and the latter's admonitions concerning Aristotle's observations on natural physiology and health: in support of his argument, this 'philosopher' quoted from one of Aristotle's works which he had found (with many others) in the library, which at that time was housed in the Temple of Hercules Victor.⁸¹ The question is whether Gellius is here referring to the library from Hadrian's villa, which he visited at some time after the Emperor's death, or to some other library at Tibur.

The Greek and Latin libraries in Hadrian's villa. The two buildings in Hadrian's villa that have been identified as libraries, one Greek and one Latin, form part of an irregularly-shaped complex surrounded by stoas and courtyards, whose original architectural scheme is uncertain.⁸² The east wing of this complex abuts on the perimeter wall of what used to be called the Maritime Theatre. A study of the design features of these 'libraries' does nothing to dissipate the initial impression that the buildings are far removed from the standard typology of public libraries under the Empire. In the first place, they



31. Plan of the complex containing the so-called 'Greek and Latin libraries' in Hadrian's villa at Tibur, drawn by H. Winnefeld.

are not the usual twin structures, for here the Greek library is much larger than the Latin. Secondly, there is absolutely no sign of any of the features normally associated with the arrangement and running of Roman libraries, such as the symmetrical, axial layout of the main room, the equal size and regular spacing of the bookcases in the recesses or the view that would greet the eye as one came in through the main entrance; and even the shape of the buildings is unusual. In fact, it is fair to say that the design philosophy leaves many questions unanswered as regards the style and internal layout of these two buildings, unless of course they were intended for other purposes, perhaps shrines of the Nymphs or halls for philosophical discussions, for example.



32. Lateral sections of the 'Greek library', drawn by H. Kähler.

The frontage of the 'library' complex faces a large rectangular quadrangle, while its northern façade forms a U-shape enclosing another courtyard with a building known as the 'Hall of the Philosophers' (*Sala dei Filosofi*) on its east side. The 'libraries' are directly opposite the *Sala dei Filosofi* and are connected with it by a stoa facing on to the north courtyard. A feature common to the two 'libraries' is that each consists of two independent rooms intercommunicating by way of passages symmetrically placed on either side of the alcove in the partition wall between them. There is no other architectural feature to suggest that these areas were libraries; moreover, if they really were intended for reading, a comment that immediately comes to mind – assuming the suggested ground plan to be correct – is that the natural lighting would

33. The so-called 'Greek library' in Hadrian's villa at Tibur.

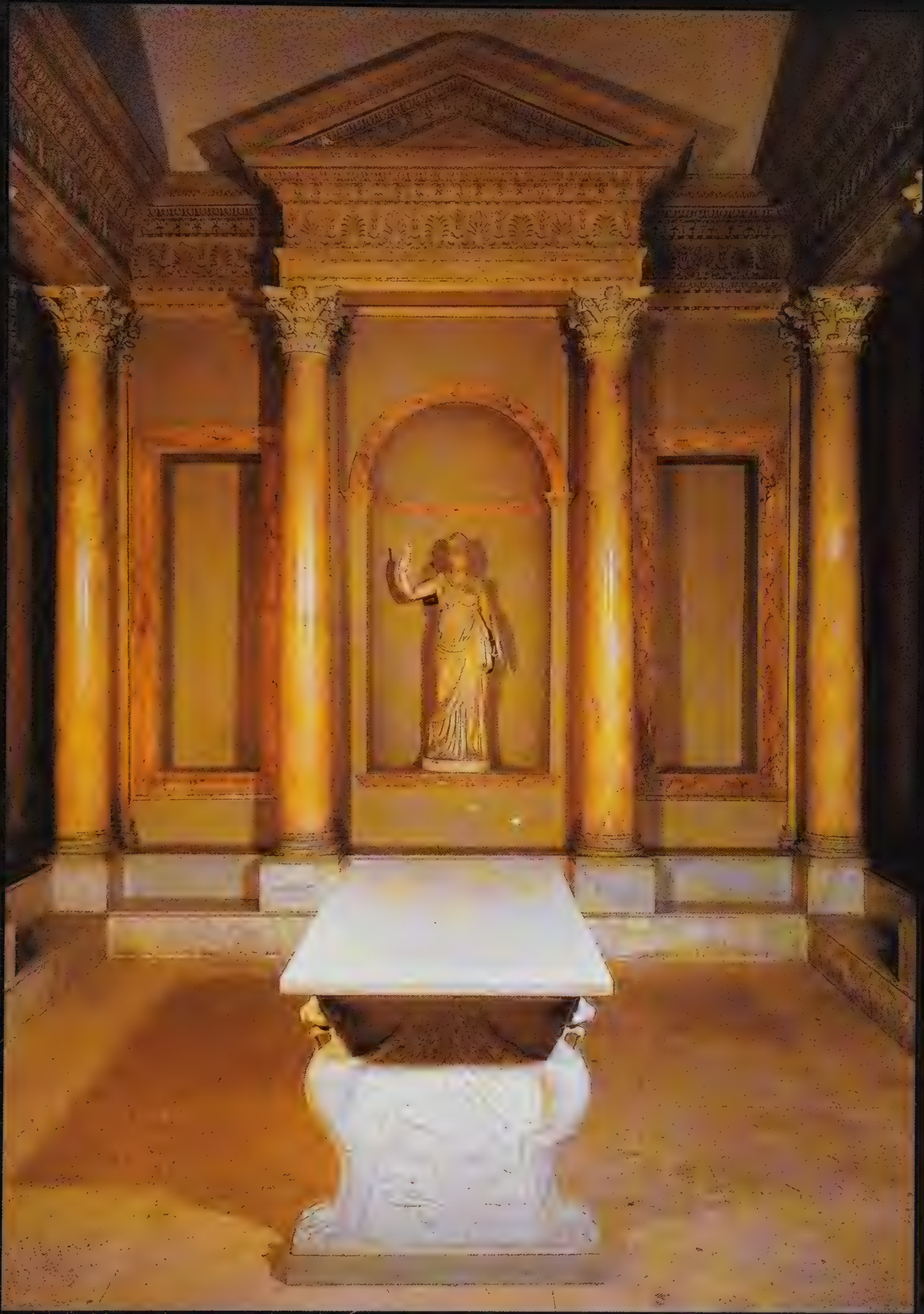


have been very dim, in fact almost non-existent. It is possible that the auxiliary offices on the east side of each 'library' were used for book storage; but here again the shape and layout of the rooms offer no firm supporting evidence. Be all that as it may, the architectural conception of the so-called 'Greek library' was probably taken as a model for the design of important examples of church architecture in the seventeenth century.⁸³

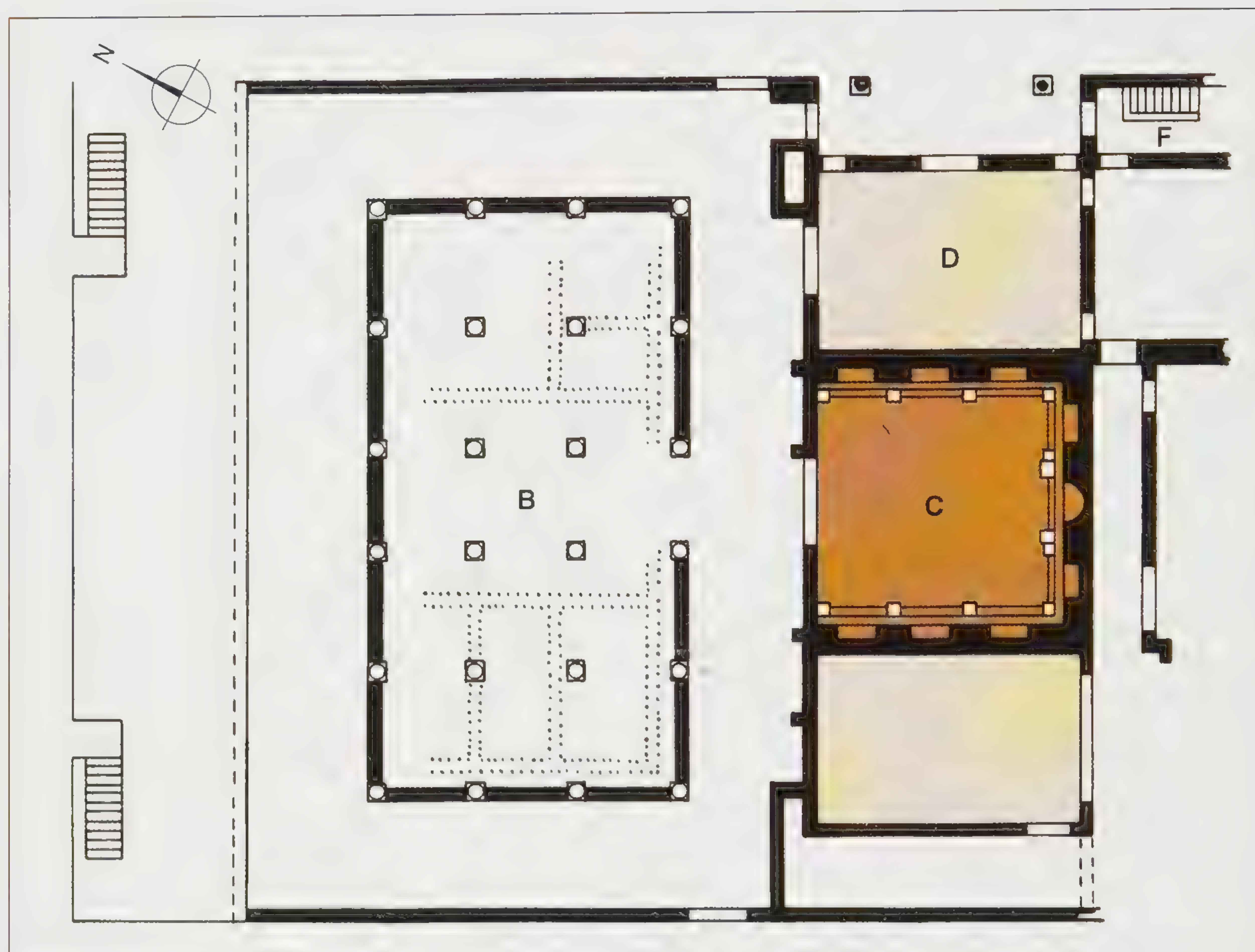
The library of the Museo della Civiltà Romana. Another library has been located in Hadrian's villa at Tibur, its function having been deduced solely from the presence in it of rectangular niches arranged symmetrically. This room was used as the model for the reconstruction of an ancient Roman library in the Museo della Civiltà Romana.⁸⁴ The building stands on the site formerly occupied by a villa of the republican period, on which a peristyle was built.⁸⁵ The entrance to the library is on the south side of the peristyle, on its lateral axis. Adjacent to the library are two symmetrical rooms, one on the east side and one on the west, and an internal stoa shielding the south wall of the library. The first point to note, as far as the architecture is concerned, is that the library does not seem to be lit from any direction; nor is there any back or side door, which means that the only daylight that might possibly have penetrated into the interior was perhaps from a window in the north wall (the wall with the doorway). That apart, this library conforms to the standard typology of Roman public and imperial libraries. The room was dominated by a statue of a god or goddess at the centre of the back wall, directly opposite the front door. To left and right of the statue were eight bookcases arranged in a P-shaped formation along the back wall and the two side walls. The bookcases were reached by two steps, the upper one of which served as the base for the columns and pilasters framing the bookcases, which were crowned by an architrave extending upwards as far as the springing of the vaulted ceiling.

Two more rooms in Hadrian's villa have been tentatively identified as libraries. One is what might be described as the central room of the complex that includes the 'Greek and Latin libraries'; the other is the room sometimes known as the *Sala dei Filosofi*. The first of these, marked as Room A on the plan drawn by Winnefeld⁸⁶ (see Fig. 30), does possess all the architectural features of a library of the imperial period: recesses arranged symmetrically

34. *The conjecturally restored library in Hadrian's villa at Tibur, in the Museo della Civiltà Romana.*



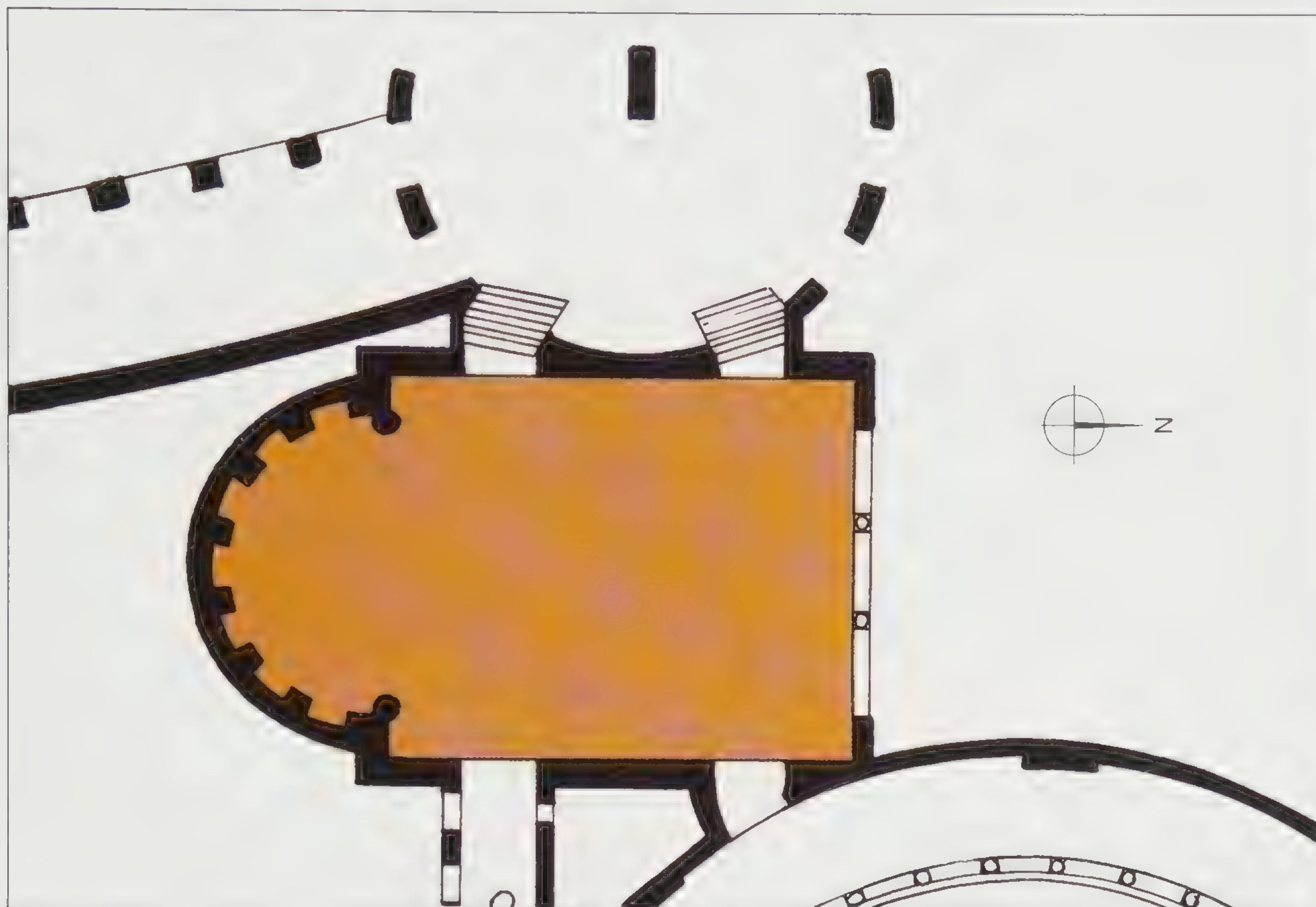
along three of the four walls, a back wall of a different shape from the rest and a Π -shaped colonnade protecting the walls with the built-in recesses for the bookcases. However, there is an alternative hypothesis supported by Gusman, among others, which is that Room A was not a library but a shrine of the



35. Plan of the library in Hadrian's villa at Tibur, drawn by H. Winnefeld.

Nymphs.⁸⁶ The other putative library, Room L on Winnefeld's plan, is on the south-east side of the so-called Poicile, sandwiched between it and the 'Maritime Theatre'.⁸⁷ In plan it is a basilica, and the arrangement of the recesses calls to mind the architectural typology of Apollodorus of Damascus, as exemplified in the libraries in the Baths of Trajan. The place where the books may have been kept is the semicircular area facing the entrance, with rectangular niches reached by way of a podium. The main doorway is framed by two columns which also served as supports for the doors and movable or immovable windows, at the same time admitting ample daylight into the room, which was north-facing. Each longitudinal wall of the building contained two symmetrical corridors leading to the Poicile and the 'Maritime Theatre' respectively.

What is puzzling about all this is the apparent absence from Hadrian's 'summer palace' of a library reflecting his own and his close friends' profound interest in books, as exemplified in the library he donated to the people of Athens, which bears his name.



36. Plan of the so-called Sala dei Filosofi in Hadrian's villa at Tibur, drawn by H. Winnefeld.

Hadrian's library in Alexandria. To a student of the history of archives, the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt offers a near-perfect example of the bureaucratic organization of the machinery of state, based on systematic record-keeping. Enormous care was taken to ensure that documentary records of every kind were always filed away,⁸⁹ to such an extent that Egypt during the Roman occupation has been described as 'the biggest business organization of the Ancient World'.⁹⁰ This practice naturally resulted in the accumulation of an incredible quantity of archival records, the systematic filing of which was no simple matter. Consequently, from the beginning of the second century, and especially in Hadrian's reign, there were no less than three archival libraries in operation in Alexandria: the *bibliothèque en Patrikois* (the public record office in the Patrika district of Alexandria), the Library of Hadrian (probably founded by the Emperor himself) and the Nanaion (probably in the

*Another archival
library in Alexandria*

Nana temple).⁹¹ According to some reports, the Library of Hadrian was the newest of the public record offices and its function was partly supervisory, to ensure that there was no repetition of the irregularities that had occurred at the Nanaion in the past. It is not known whether this Hadrianic library existed exclusively for bureaucratic purposes or whether it also contained written material of other kinds, perhaps even literature.

An archival library at Aelia Capitolina, Palestine. According to many ancient and modern historians, Hadrian's decision to build a new quarter of the city of Jerusalem in order to found a colony and erect a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish temple sparked off a renewed wave of unrest among the Jews: this developed into the third successive war of the Jews against the Romans, known as the Bar Kokhba revolt, which lasted from 132 to 135.⁹² When the revolt had been crushed, veterans of the tenth legion were settled in this new quarter of the city. On the evidence of an Oxyrrhynchus papyrus, it would appear that one of the facilities created at Aelia Capitolina was a record office, which may also have served as the new colony's library:

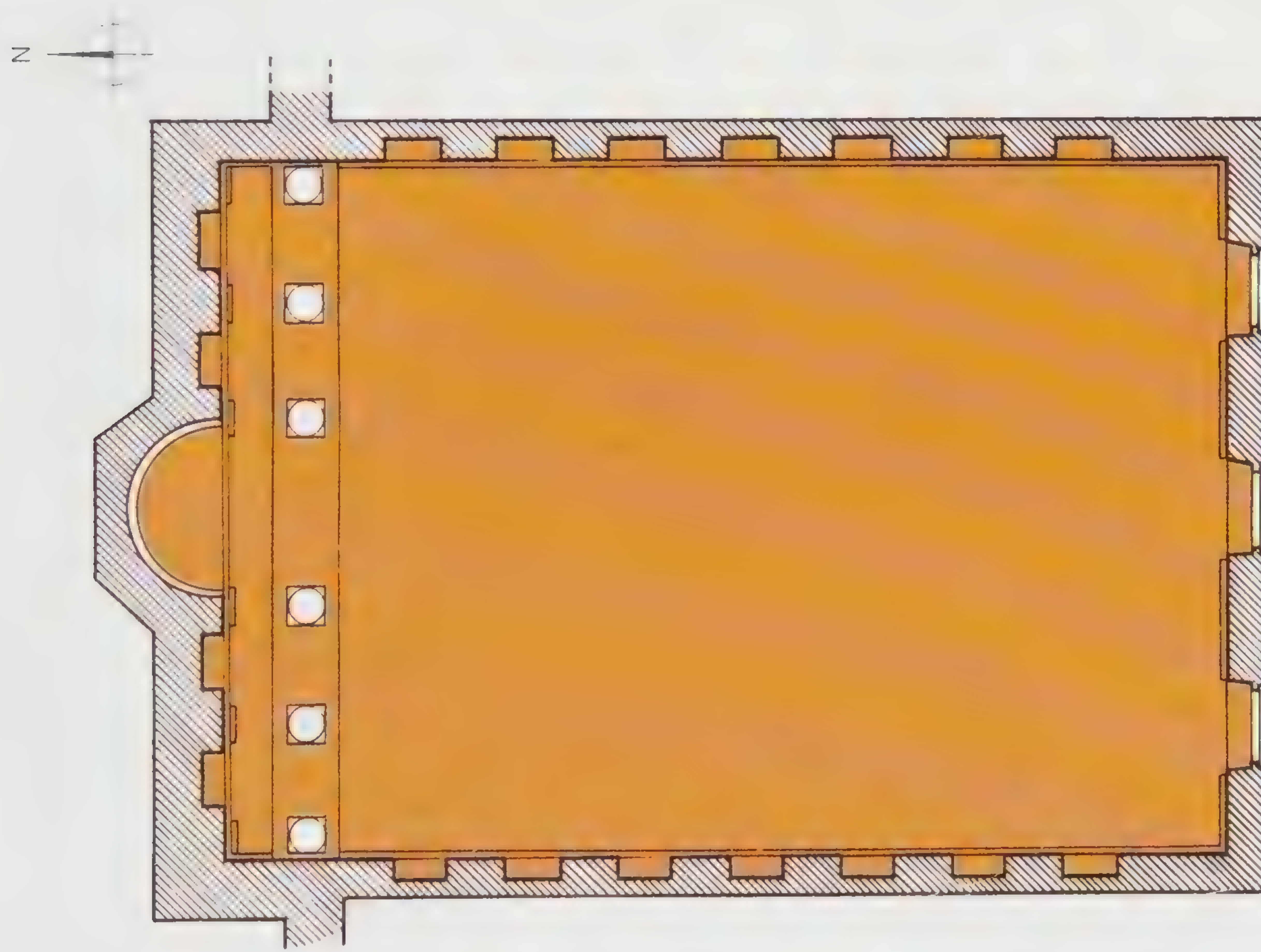
... τήν γε μὴν συνπάσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνακειμένην εὐπέσεις ἐν τε τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῆς ἀρχαίας πατρίδος κολωνείας Αἰλίας Καπιτωλείνης τῆς Παλαιστεινῆς, καὶ Νύση τῆς Καρίας· μέχρι δὲ τοῦ τρισκαιδεκάτου ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θερμαῖς ἐν τῇ ἐν Πανθείῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ καλῇ ἣν αὐτὸς ἡρχιτεκτόνησα τῷ Σεβαστῷ ...⁹³

To sum up what has been said here about Hadrian's contribution to the founding and running of libraries in Rome, Athens, Alexandria and Jerusalem, and of those libraries that were founded in his honour at the Asclepieum near Pergamum (founded by Flavia Melitene), perhaps at Sagalassus and probably elsewhere too, it has to be said that available evidence concerning his relations with literary and bookish men is scanty indeed.⁹⁴

We know that Suetonius served for a short time as his private secretary (*ab epistulis*) and head of the imperial library (*a bibliothecis*) but was dismissed from both posts for a breach of etiquette.⁹⁵ He was replaced by Lucius Julius Vestinus, Hadrian's *grammaticus* and tutor (*a studiis*), who had previously been head of the Museum in Alexandria.⁹⁶ It is not clear which of the palace libraries Vestinus was in charge of, nor whether the title *a bibliothecis* covered all the imperial libraries.

During his stay in Athens in 125, Hadrian made friends not only with Herodes Atticus but with at least two other people as well: Epictetus, whom he had already met at Nicopolis, and C. Avidius Heliodorus from Syria.⁹⁷ The latter subsequently became Hadrian's secretary *ab epistulis*, and the Emperor later appointed him Prefect of Egypt. Another person with whom Hadrian probably became friendly in Athens was the philosopher Secundus, the 'silent philosopher' who was the teacher of Herodes. Hadrian's meeting with Secundus is legendary: the philosopher refused to break his self-imposed oath of silence even for the Emperor and gave him only written answers to his questions.⁹⁸

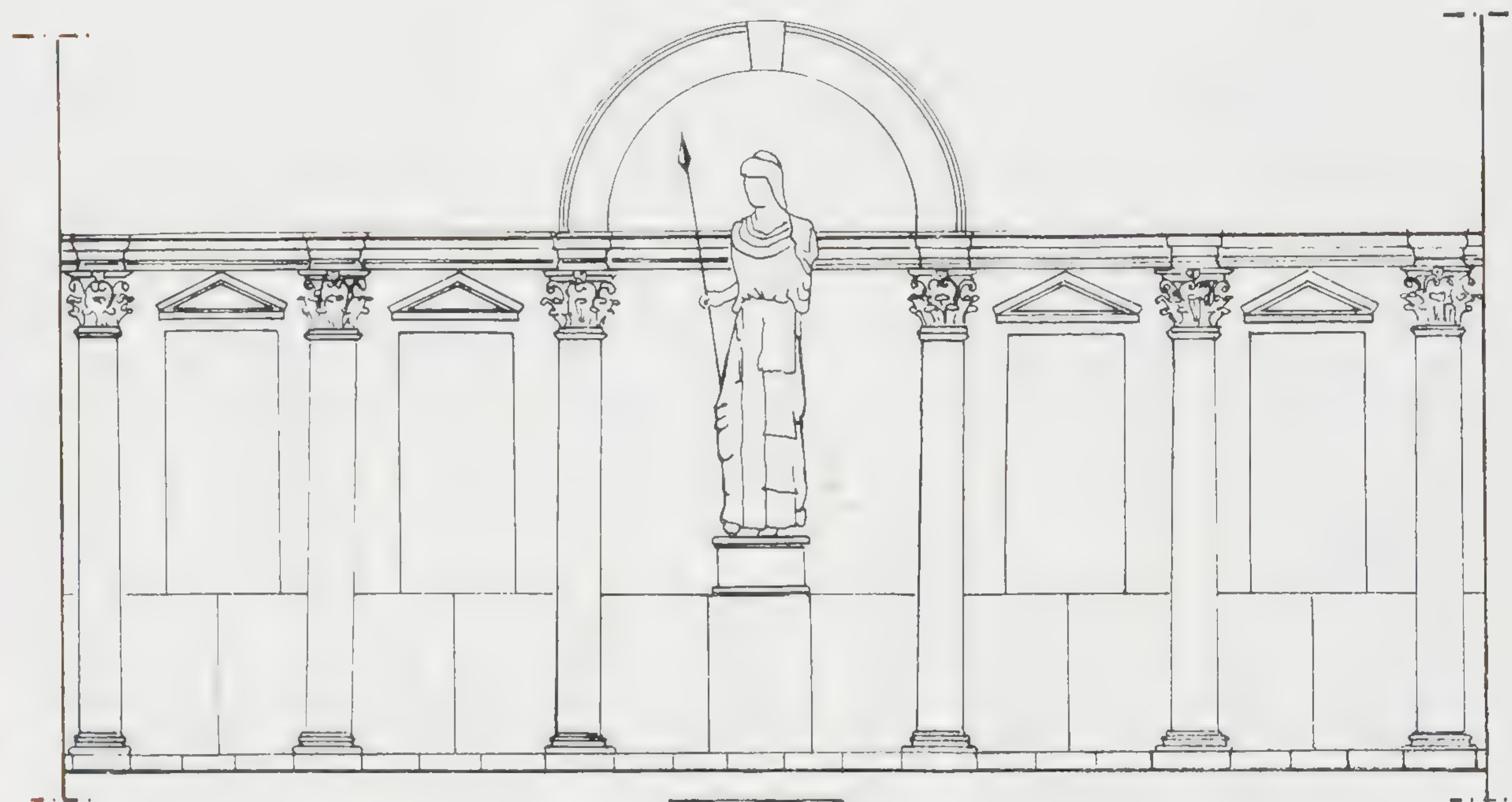
The public library at Thessalonica. Around the middle of the second century A.D., probably in the time of the Antonines (138-180) and at any rate not earlier than the final years of Hadrian's reign, a library was built in Thessalonica in the area of the Roman forum. This independent public building possesses all the typological characteristics of Roman libraries of the imperial period, as regards both its layout and its function.⁹⁹ This library consists of a



37. Plan of the library at Thessalonica, drawn by Evangelia Kambouri.

single room and does not appear to have had any auxiliary offices connected with it, which means that the same room was used both for storing books and as a reading room.

The library is a long rectangular hall extending to left and right of the main entrance (which consists of three doors), with rectangular recesses arranged symmetrically in the side walls. The recesses were large enough to hold a total of fourteen bookcases. On the central axis of the hall, directly opposite the main entrance, there was an apse adorned with a large statue of Athena made



38. Conjectural reconstruction of the north wall of the library at Thessalonica, drawn by Evangelia Kambouri.

in a special way. Flanking the apse, again in a symmetrical arrangement, were four rectangular recesses framed at the sides by shallow pilasters; and in front of these recesses there was a podium supporting free-standing columns that stood directly in front of the pilasters. These columns, besides contributing to the decorative effect, may also have served static purposes as load-bearing elements to take the weight of the roof. The decorative scheme was dominated by marble, both on the floor (perhaps polychrome) and as wall facings. There is no surviving evidence to indicate how the library was illuminated: there may have been windows above the doors, in which case the room would have been lit from the south.

The statue in the apse, now known as the Medici Athena, is of particular interest because stylistically it shows the influence of Phidias (fifth century

B.C.). It is made of marble and wood in imitation of the acrolithic and chryselephantine statues of the Classical period. It is also a 'modified' statue, one of a kind found in the Hellenistic and more commonly in the Roman period: in this particular case, at some time early in the third century A.D. the head of Athena was replaced with a portrait head of the Empress Julia Domna, known for her literary circle in Rome and her intellectual interests in general.¹⁰⁰

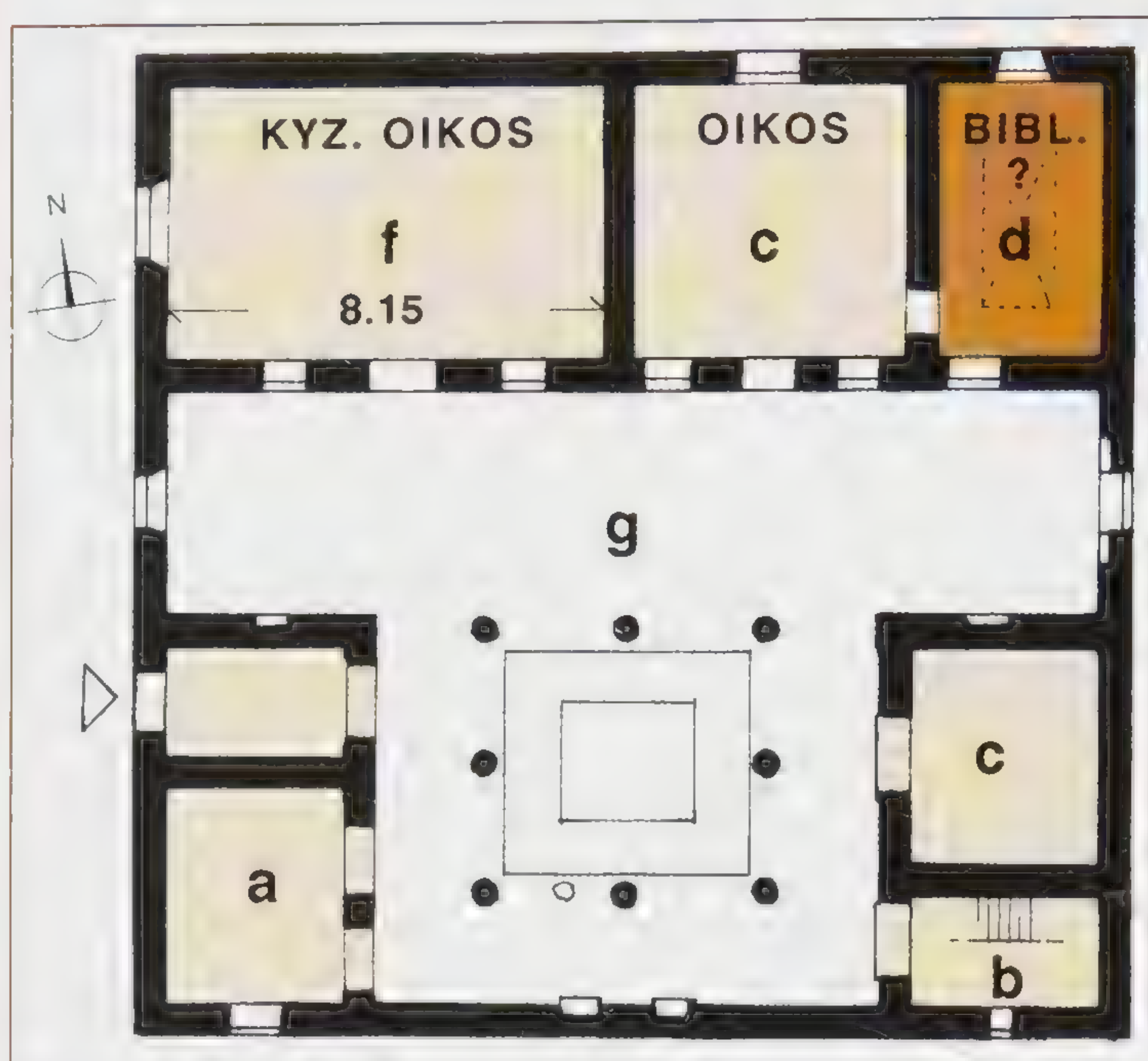
In the late fourth or early fifth century the library was rebuilt to an altered design. This was at the time when Thessalonica was beginning to acquire the first architectural characteristics of a Byzantine city: the Roman stadium was demolished and many of the structural or ornamental elements of Roman buildings were reused as material for the remodelling of old buildings and the construction of new ones.¹⁰¹

Private libraries in Greece. That there already existed separate rooms used as libraries or book rooms in the Classical period is confirmed by literary sources. However, habits changed in the Hellenistic period and Vitruvius, in his description of the 'Greek house' in *De architectura*, makes a point of mentioning the special room used as a library, which he says faced east. Excavations of Roman villas have proved that these *oeci* opened on to atria and peristyle courtyards, that they were contiguous with the dining-room that Vitruvius calls *triclinia cyzicena* and with the 'picture gallery' (*pinacotheca*), and that they were protected by stoas.¹⁰² No other architectural or decorative feature is mentioned in Vitruvius's description of these *oeci*, which were used for keeping books, as is clearly apparent from the reconstruction of the 'reading room' in the Villa of the Papyri (in which, as we have seen, the works of the Epicureans were kept).¹⁰³ To judge by their dimensions, it is reasonable to conjecture that they were sometimes used only for storing books and sometimes perhaps as general reading and writing rooms. Excavations have corroborated these statements by Vitruvius, and in various parts of Greece there were special rooms that served as private libraries identical to and fully on a par with the Roman libraries in southern Italy described earlier in these pages: some examples are the Villa of Dionysus at Dion,¹⁰⁴ the House of the Rape of Helen and the House of Dionysus at Pella,¹⁰⁵ the great House IB at Eretria,¹⁰⁶ Herodes Atticus's villas at Marathon and at Eua in Kynouria¹⁰⁷ (and perhaps elsewhere too), on Delos¹⁰⁸ and at Aegae.¹⁰⁹

The rooms used as reading room and library in the House of Dionysus at Pella appear to have been altogether exceptional in character. This group of

*Distinguishing
features
of libraries*

rooms is a superb example of architecture in a private building of the Classical and Hellenistic periods which must have belonged to a family prominent in Macedonian society during the period following Alexander's death. In this villa, the plan of which has been drawn by Ch. Makaronas and Eleni Yiouri, Wolfram Hoepfner has identified a section which he believes was used as a library. The architect who designed the 'house' evidently paid special attention to this section. It is a group of rooms opening off the north peristyle courtyard, facing west and occupying the whole of one side of the quadrangle. It is fronted by a *pastas* (a kind of portico) with columns *in antis*, which was probably a reading room. Opening off the inside of the portico was a row of three rooms with no intercommunicating doors – the only access to them being from the portico – which may have been used for storing books and the family papers.

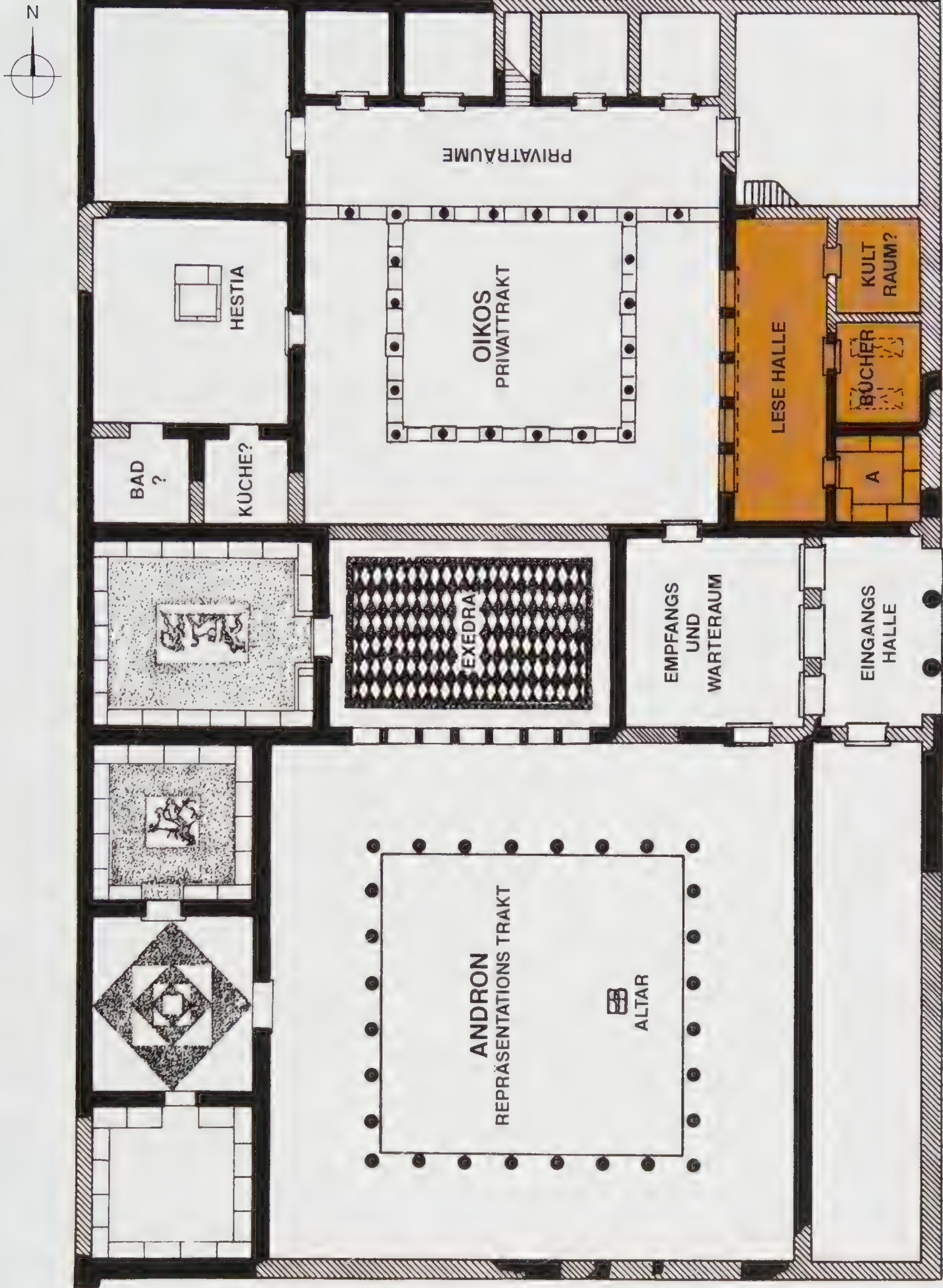


39. Plan of the so-called Hill House on Delos, drawn by W. Hoepfner.



40. Plan of the 'Maison aux frontons' in the city block at Delos containing the House of the Comedians, drawn by W. Hoepfner.

We have to remember that aristocratic families, and the families of those who held public office in the senatorial and imperial provinces of the Roman Empire, kept substantial private archives containing not only the family papers documenting their titles of honour, their official positions and their property holdings, but also their voluminous correspondence with the central government in Rome on a wide variety of topics.



41. Plan of the House of Dionysus at Pella showing the uses of the rooms and open courts, drawn by W. Hoepfner.

A private library at Dion? At Dion, the holy city of the Macedonians lying in the eastern foothills of Mount Olympus, no public or educational library has been discovered as yet in the excavations that have been in progress since 1970 under the direction of Dimitrios Pandermalis. However, there is a room in the so-called House of Dionysus (which probably dates from the second century A.D.) that could have been the house-owner's private library: the suggestion has been forward by Pandermalis, who has told me of this conjecture of his,¹¹⁰ for which I thank him once again. The supposition that there must have been a library in this house is strengthened by the fact that



42. The library in the Villa of Dionysus at Dion as it is today.

the owners were evidently interested in philosophy, to judge from the fact that four statues of 'philosophers' were found in the formal banqueting room with the exquisite mosaic floor depicting Dionysus.

The area set aside for use as a library was an almost square room opening off the atrium, directly opposite the banqueting room and facing west. It was entered by a door in the centre of its front wall. Two vaulted structures against the side walls of the library may have served to give access to the bookcases and also to protect them. What remains of the side walls provides no evidence to suggest that there were rectangular recesses to hold cupboards for the books, so the bookcases must have been ranged along the side walls; and the well-preserved marble floor bears no marks that might indicate the position of a lightweight structure giving easier access to the bookcases.

43. The statues of the philosophers, in the order in which they were found by the excavators, in the Villa of Dionysus at Dion. From D. Pandermalis, *Ἀνακαλύπτοντας τὸ Δίον*, Athens, 2000.



Libraries in healing centres.* The deification of Asclepius as god of healing dates from the late sixth century B.C., and all the indications are that he was first deified at Epidaurus. From there the cult of the new god spread far and wide with unexpected rapidity, with the result that eventually there were more than four hundred sanctuaries and temples dedicated to him, some of which were still functioning in the sixth century A.D. The most highly-regarded of these centres were at Epidaurus, Athens, Tricca, Pergamum, Cnidus and Cos, the last being the most famous of them all on account of its connection with the life and work of Hippocrates. Most of the great sanctuaries of Asclepius were large complexes with special buildings for the patients' accommodation and treatment as well as all sorts of other facilities for the entertainment and recreation of their relatives, including theatres, concert halls, hippodromes and gymnasiums. To these medical and healing centres we should add the independent medical schools mentioned in ancient literature, especially those of Cyrene, Rhodes, Cnidus and Cos.

It is safe to say that the earliest 'libraries' in the sanctuaries of Asclepius were set up mainly for practical reasons, given that most of the patients who went there were suffering from chronic or incurable complaints and were therefore relying on divine intervention for a cure. The patients communed with the god in the Abaton ('holy of holies', an oracular dormitory) where, by *enkoimesis* ('incubation'),¹¹¹ Asclepius would send them a dream giving instructions for their cure. The final stage of this healing process was that a sort of prescription list was drawn up to meet the needs of the case and the treatment was recorded initially on stone tablets like those mentioned by Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, II.27.3):

Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric.

*Prescription lists
as medical libraries*

Excavations at Epidaurus and elsewhere have brought a number of these tablets to light. Within a fairly short time these prescription lists and courses of treatment, recorded on stone, amounted to a sort of medical library of the

* Since the existence of libraries at sanctuaries of Asclepius is attested from at least as early as the Classical period, they could well have been discussed in the first volume of *The History of the Library*. However, in view of the abundance of firm evidence from the imperial period concerning their operation and the names of their endowers, it seemed more appropriate to include them in the present volume.

utmost importance, considering that Hippocrates is traditionally said to have studied medicine not only with his father and his teacher Herodicus, but also at the medical school or the Asclepieum on Cos. There is a good measure of truth in this tradition, as the library of the Cos medical school and the authentic writings of Hippocrates himself constitute the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. It has been established that the majority of those writings date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., since Baccheus of Tanagra, writing as early as the third century B.C., compiled a glossary in which he attempted to single out those of the 'Hippocratic' writings that he considered genuine.

That Hippocrates did obtain at least some of his medical knowledge through the study of ancient texts is proved by documentary evidence connected with the Cnidus library.

The public library at Cnidus. The important city of Cnidus in Caria, which by the fourth century B.C. had developed into a great regional cylinder centre with famous religious sanctuaries (such as those of Aphrodite and Asclepius), was the birthplace of Ctesias, one of the great physicians and historians of the ancient era. Evidently the city's renowned medical school did have a library, as we know

from a passage in the *Vita Hippocratis*: 'He left his native city, according to the malicious allegation of Andreas in his book *On Medicine*, because he had burnt down the book repository at Cnidus' (... μετέστη τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος, ὡς μὲν κακοήθως Ἀνδρέας φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς γενεαλογίας, διὰ τὸ ἐμπρήσας τὸ ἐν Κνίδῳ γραμματοφυλακεῖον).¹¹²

It is clear that the standard method of therapy and treatment at these sanctuaries of Asclepius involved making a written record of every pathological condition: this was an essential part of medical training, not only for students but also for the medical staff (the *zakoroi* or temple servants and the so-called 'sons of the god'). Just how the rooms were arranged for the storage of the 'stone books' (or, later, of the papyrus rolls), and whether or not they were directly connected with the Abaton, are still matters of conjecture. Archaeological finds from the sanctuaries have made it possible to identify the



44. Votive relief of a patient with a model of the affected limb. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.



rooms that were used as libraries, either from their architecture or from fragmentary inscriptions mentioning their existence.

The library of the Asclepieum at Cos. The library endowed by Gaius Stertinius Xenophon at the Coan Asclepieum may have been one of the first to be founded in the greater area of the Greek East under the Roman Empire. Gaius Stertinius, a member of the Roman family of that name with roots going back to the first third of the second century B.C., was born on Cos and, according to Tacitus (*Annales*, XII.61), was descended from the clan of Asclepiads.¹¹³ He and his brother Quintus were grandsons of one Xenophon, a namesake of another of their ancestors who had studied under Praxagoras himself, the great Coan physician and head of the medical school in the fourth century B.C. Gaius visited Rome in Claudius's reign and, on his brother's recommendation, was taken on as the Emperor's personal physician. In recognition of his services, Claudius appointed him his secretary *ad responsa graeca*,

45. Conjectural reconstruction of the Asclepieum on Cos as it was in the Hellenistic period, after P. Schatzmann.



and through the Emperor's good offices he was granted special privileges in his dealings with his fellow-citizens of Cos.¹¹⁴

According to Tacitus, Gaius Stertinius was implicated in the poisoning of the Emperor, while Suetonius records the episode without mentioning his name.¹¹⁵ In Nero's reign Gaius Stertinius was on Cos and had more honours heaped upon him, being proclaimed a hero and a 'friend of Nero' (*philoneron*). Among his many endowments to the Asclepieum on Cos, which also included an *aedicula* in Nero's honour, was a library that he founded, as we know from a contemporary inscription:

Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἡρακλείτου υἱὸς
Ξενοφῶν φιλόκαισαρ ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπίου
Ῥγείας Ἀπιόνας καὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν
τοῖ(ς) Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῶι δάμῳ
ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δί]ων τᾶν βυ[βλιοθή]καν ...].

The inscription was found in the 1903 excavations on the Lower Terrace of the Asclepieum and was first published by Herzog.¹¹⁶

Among the ruins of the Coan Asclepieum, C. Callmer¹¹⁷ identified two rooms as libraries in a building in the precinct of the Temple of Asclepius that had been constructed on top of a somewhat larger earlier building.¹¹⁸ What is known as the library of this healing centre is an almost square building consisting of three interconnecting areas. A door at the right-hand end of the façade led into a corridor running the whole width of the building, with two doors opening off it into the twin rooms of the library. Each of these square rooms had three rectangular recesses on one of the side walls and one on the other side wall; and in the centre of the back wall of each room, directly opposite the door, there was a semicircular alcove for a dedicatory or cult statue. These library rooms were separated by a partition wall with a communicating door at one end.

The library of the Asclepieum at Epidaurus. The library discovered by excavators in the Asclepieum at Epidaurus dates from the second century A.D.: according to inscriptions embossed on the tiled roof, the building was completed in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161).¹¹⁹ P. Kavvadias located the library in a building complex contiguous with the Abaton, facing east.¹²⁰ It is an oblong building divided into four rooms. Along its east side ran a stoa where numerous inscribed bases and votive offerings were found. A square room on the north side of the building, with no architectural features of any particular interest, has been identified as a library.

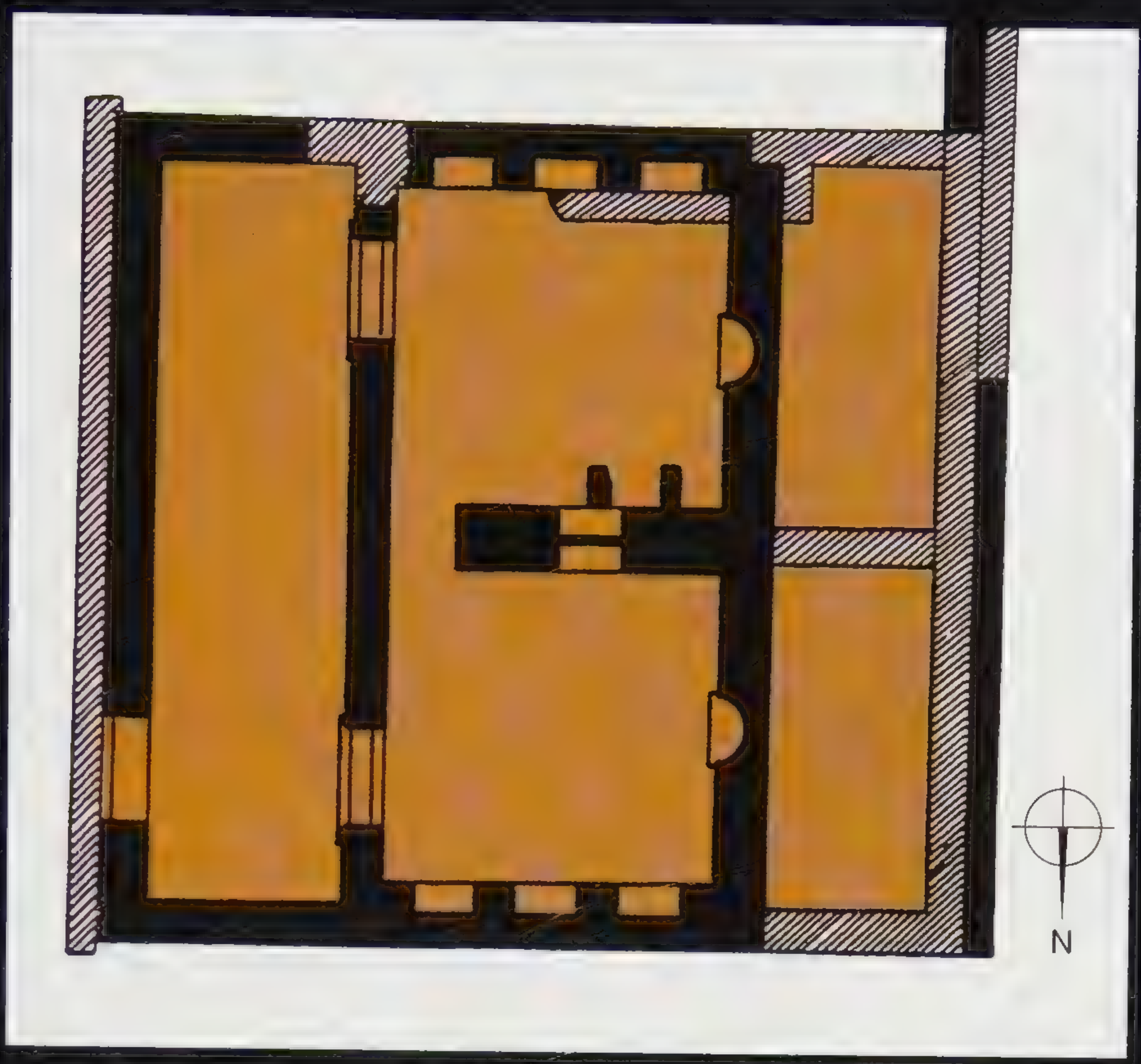
There are two extant inscriptions attesting to the library's existence. One names the benefactor who endowed it, a certain Rufus, perhaps a priest or a physician attached to the sanctuary, who dedicated the library and all the books in it to Apollo Meleatas and Asclepius:

[...Ρ]οῦφος γ' Ε[...] τίνου ... [...Ἀπόλλω]νι Μαλεάτα καὶ
'Ἀσκληπιῶ Σωτήρι τήν] βιβλιοθήκην [καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ βιβλί]α
ἀνέθηκεν εἰ[εραπολήσας τὸ ... ἔτος] καὶ ἀγω[νοθετήσας].¹²¹

The other inscription, describing the treatment given to M. Apellas from Asia Minor, states that the patient had started suffering from headaches as a result

46. *Plan of the rooms in the Coan Asclepieum which C. H. Callmer has identified as a library. Plan drawn by R. Herzog.*

47. *Plan of the Asclepieum at Epidaurus, drawn by P. Kavvadias.*



of too much reading.¹²² The inference to be drawn from this is that the Asclepieum library was not reserved exclusively for the use of the medical staff but was also used as a reading room by those who could afford to bring books from their own collections when they came to Epidaurus.

The library of the Asclepieum at Pergamum. Another library, later than the royal library of the Attalids and the Hellenistic and Roman gymnasium libraries, is known to have existed at Pergamum from early in the second century A.D.: it was probably the Asclepieum library. Not that the cult of Asclepius was first introduced at Pergamum under the Roman Empire, of course: it dated from the time of Archias of Pergamum, in the third century B.C. Furthermore, as already mentioned, the practice of setting a room or rooms aside for collec-



48. *The ruins of a gymnasium at Pergamum. Print from M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce. Planches, Brussels, Calcographie Royale de J. Goubaud, [ca. 1830].*

tions of books on pharmacology and medicine at healing centres, for the use of patients and medical staff alike, had come into being much earlier still.¹²³

The Asclepieum at Pergamum, which lay outside the city, consisted of a complex of buildings surrounded by peristyles and courtyards, dominated by a temple dedicated to Zeus-Asclepius.¹²⁴ The books were kept in a building that was either constructed specifically for use as a library or was adapted for the purpose, in the north-east quarter of the complex. The benefactor who endowed the library is named as a wealthy upper-class lady, Flavia Melitene. Nothing is recorded about the reasons that led her to donate the Asclepieum library to the city: in fact her involvement in the matter is mentioned only in the dedicatory inscription of the archons and a dedicatory inscription on a statue base from the library, which reads as follows:

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρου πρώ-
της Περγαμηνῶν πόλεως ... ἐτίμησεν Φλ. Μελιτίνην γυναῖκα Φλ. Μητρο-
δώρου πρυτάνεως καὶ μητέρα ... Φλ. Μητροδώρου πρυτάνεως, κατασκευ-
άσασαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ βιβλιοθήκην.¹²⁵

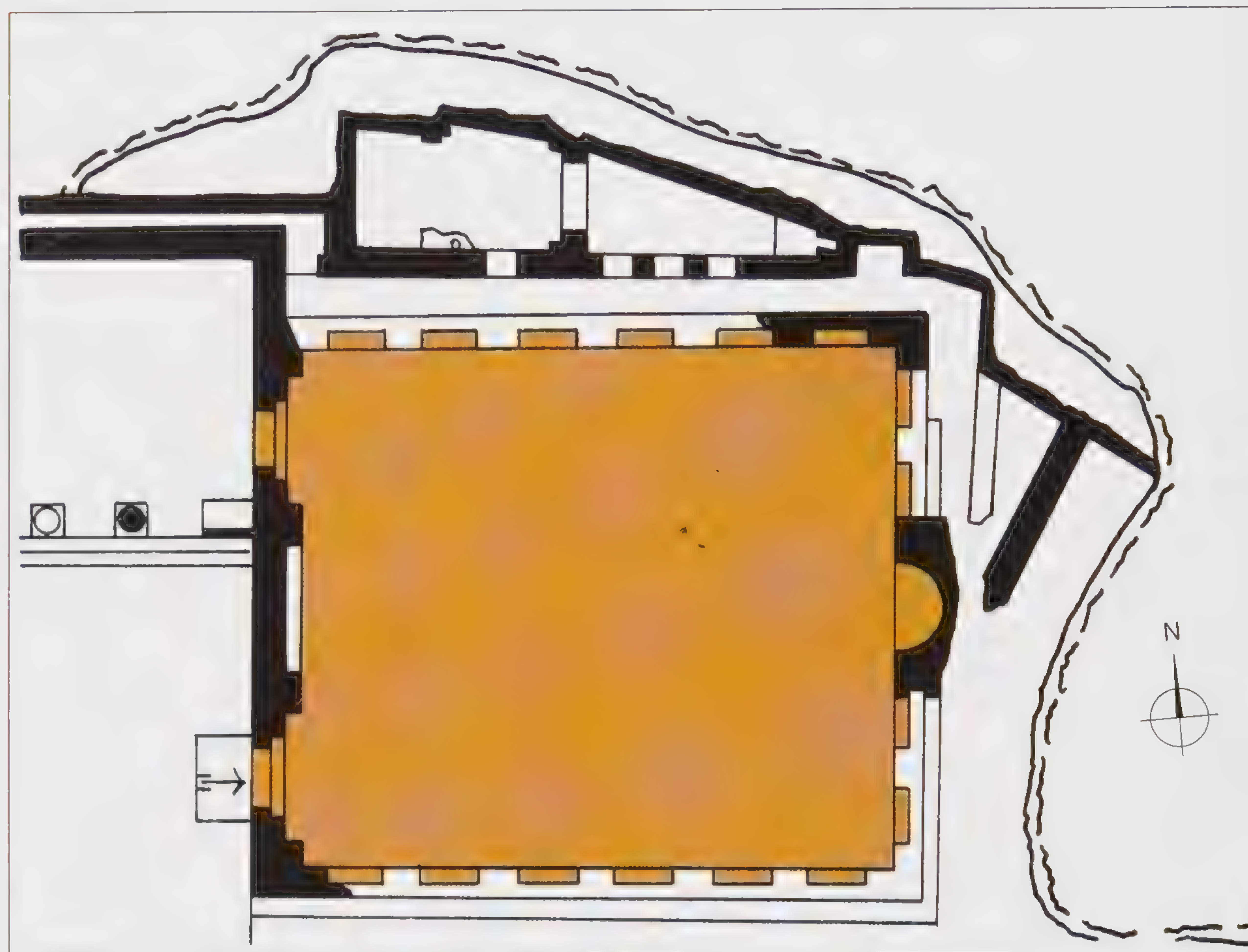
No additional information concerning Melitene's connection with the prytanis Flavius Metrodorus sheds any further light on the personality of either the donor herself or the prytanis. The statue of the deified Hadrian in the library, with Melitene's name inscribed on the base, suggests that the library may have been officially opened on the occasion of the Emperor's visit to Pergamum in 123, and the archaeological evidence contains nothing to indicate an earlier or later date.

The rectangular library room had two entrances, one in the north stoa and the other in the courtyard. The north and south sides were shielded by corridors, and there were a few irregularly-shaped rooms abutting against the outside of the north corridor. The arrangement of the library, which had rectangular arched recesses, has nothing original to distinguish it from the usual design and layout of Roman libraries of the imperial period. There were six recesses symmetrically positioned in each of the side walls, with four identical recesses used as bookcases in the east wall, two on either side of an apse which contained a statue of Emperor Hadrian standing nude with his armour at his feet. Incised on the base of the statue are the words Θεὸν Ἀδριανὸν/Φλ. Μελιτηνήν.

The apse and the floor and walls of the room were inlaid with polychrome marble tesserae. Illumination was provided by a row of windows above the

*Architectural
design*

recesses, the panes being very thin slabs of marble or alabaster to filter the light so that the books would not be damaged by direct exposure to the sun. The height of the recesses from the floor, the absence of any platform or podium giving access to the bookcases and the fact that the perimeter of the floor was paved with marble make it difficult to determine what the room was used for. All that needs to be said here is that it may originally have been



49. Plan of the library in the Asclepieum at Pergamum, reproduced from AvP XI, I, Pl. 52.

intended for other purposes connected with the operation of the Asclepieum, and only later converted for use as a library.¹²⁶

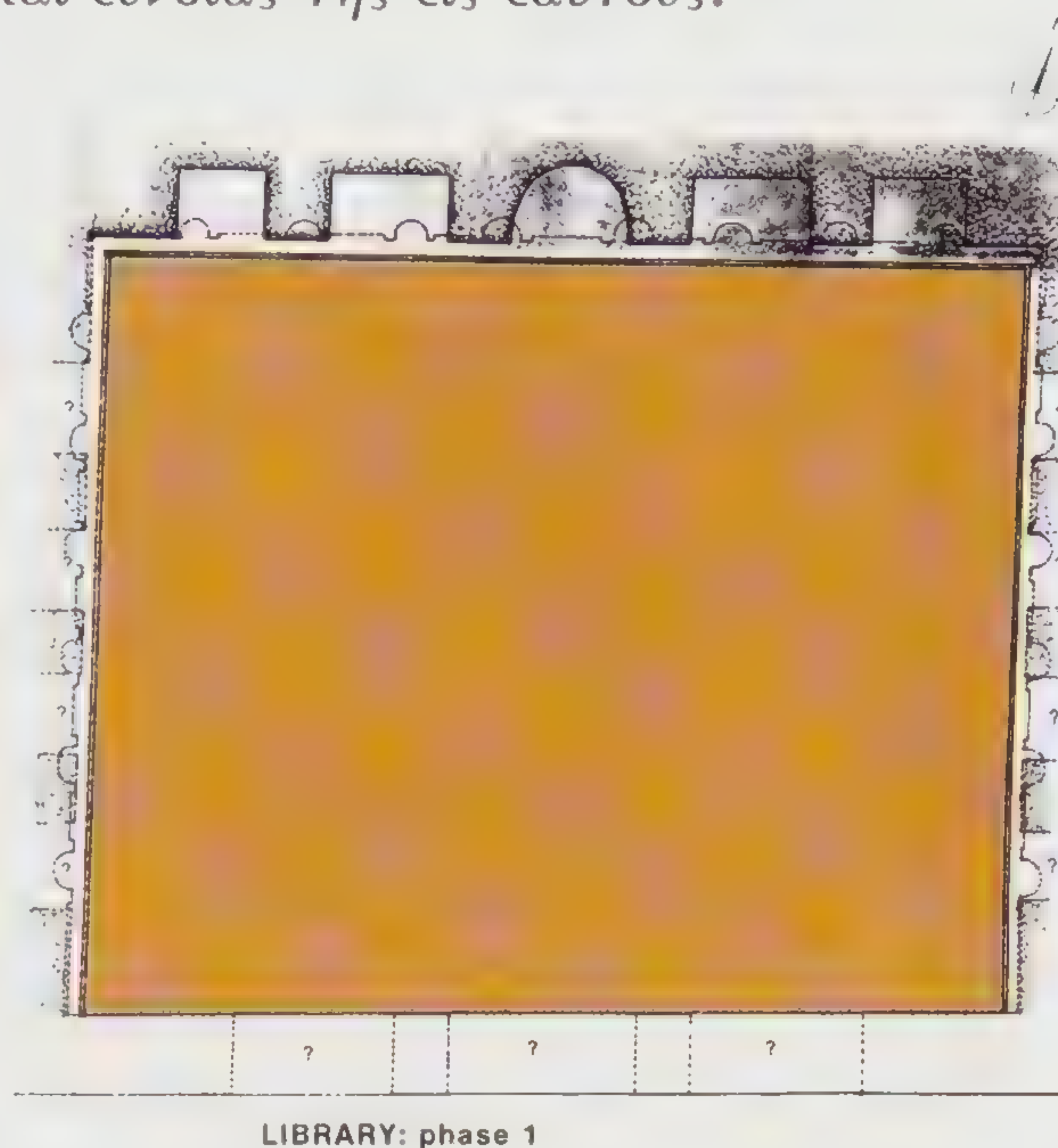
The library at Sagalassus. In the early years of Hadrian's reign, soon after A.D. 120, another library was opened in the Near East, this time at Sagalassus, an ancient city in north-west Pisidia, near the border with Phrygia. This library, excavated by the Belgian School of Archaeology, is of great architectural interest, for the ruins provide evidence of the alterations made to the interior and the façade at various times up to its final destruction.¹²⁷

The founder of the library is named in a long inscription on the north wall: he was a local man, Titus Flavius Severianus Neon, who dedicated the building to the memory of his father and uncle shortly after 120:

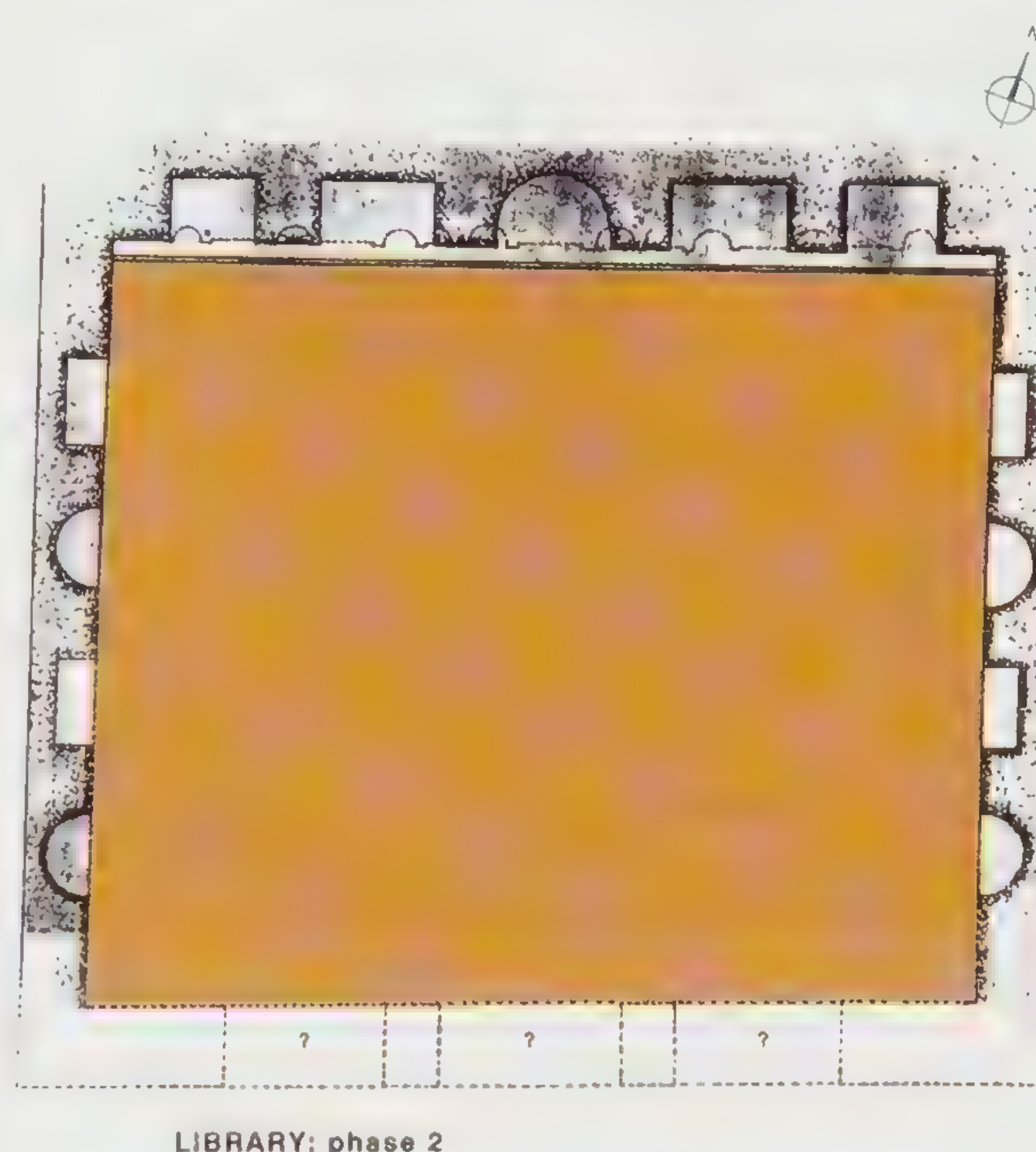
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Σεουηριανὸν Νέωνα,
υἱὸν πόλεως, φιλόπατριν, κτίστην, πανάρετον, ἀγωνοθέτην
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δι' αἰῶνος, τειμῆς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς.¹²⁸

Altogether there were seven inscriptions built into the north wall of the library. In them the Popular Assembly and Senate of Sagalassus paid tribute to the library's founder, his uncle, his grandfather and many other members of the family. It appears that the Severianus family obtained Roman citizenship under the Flavian emperors (A.D. 69-96) and prospered to become one of the most prominent families in Sagalassus. Its members were active in organizing festivals of games and other festivities, and many of them held high office in the government of the East Roman Empire, as far afield as Egypt and even in Alexandria itself.¹²⁹

The library of Severianus, like that of Celsus at Ephesus, was a separate building with indications of three doorways in the façade. These led into a slightly trapezoidal hall which appears to have had no intercommunication with any other room, auxiliary or otherwise.¹³⁰ Neither the architectural design nor the ornamentation resembles that of any other library of the Roman imperial period. The main



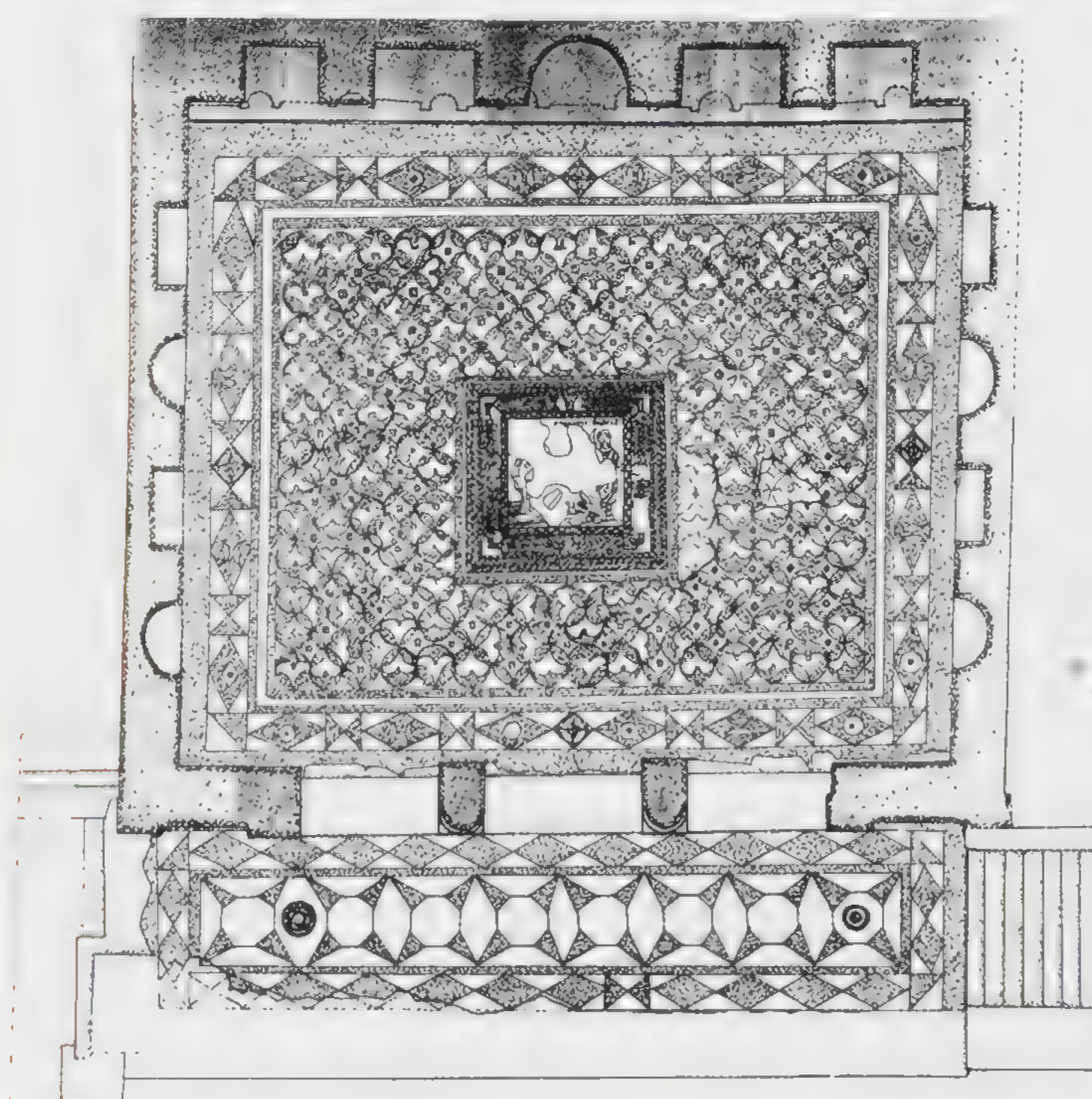
50. Plan of the library at Sagalassus during the first phase (shortly after A.D. 120), after M. Waelkens.



51. Plan of the library at Sagalassus during the second phase (late second century A.D.), after M. Waelkens.

room is monumental in character: the relatively small number of book storage recesses, in comparison with the number of niches containing large or small statues, suggests that at least in the first building phase it was basically a 'museum library', in the sense that it contained a specific collection of works of Greek and Roman literature.

Two phases are discernible in the final design and ornamentation of the library hall. In the first phase there was a podium 2.35 metres high running round three of the four walls: it was adorned with semicircular niches that



LIBRARY: phase 3

52. Plan of the library at Sagalassus during the third phase (A.D. 361-363), with the mosaic floor, after M. Waelkens.

probably contained statues. The podium, which had commemorative inscriptions carved on the architrave, was presumably there to give access to the bookcases. In the back wall (the north wall) there was a semicircular alcove directly opposite the main entrance: this must have risen to a considerable height, judging by the size of a bronze finger found *in situ*, which must have come from a statue three or even four metres tall.¹³¹ Flanking this alcove were four non-uniform recesses used as bookcases. The height of the central alcove indicates that there was a second row of bookcases in the north wall, above the first, which implies that the library must have had an upper floor. The four recesses in each of the side walls, which were alternately rectangular (arched) and semicircular, may have had a second tier of matching recesses above them. Thus the capacity of the library consisted of sixteen rectangular recesses used as bookcases. Besides these there were nine more alcoves (including the one in the middle of the back wall), as well as twenty smaller ones in the front wall of the podium, all containing statues.

In the second phase, perhaps towards the end of the second century A.D., the two sides of the building were modified, either in consequence of serious damage or for some other, unknown reason. The stone podium was demol-

ished and the recesses remodelled (assuming that they had actually existed in the first phase), while the side walls were covered partly with timbering and partly with plaster and were adorned with lavish baroque ornamentation, perhaps frescoes. The original design of the back wall was left unaltered.¹³²

Around the middle of the fourth century (*circa* 350-375, and probably between 361 and 363), perhaps on the initiative of Emperor Julian the Apostate as part of his policy for the preservation and revival of ancient literature in Christian communities, the library building was probably reconstructed for the



53. The north wall of the library at Sagalassus, with the niches and the inscribed architrave, during the first phase.

second time. In this phase the façade was redesigned, as were those parts of the side walls that were structurally connected with the front wall. The other walls were left architecturally unchanged, but the wall facings and decorations were replaced. The floor paving, too, was probably replaced at this time by a mosaic with an elaborate design of geometric motifs with borders and, in the centre, a polychrome Homeric scene of the departure of Achilles flanked by his mother, Thetis, and Phoenix, his tutor. The name of the artist responsible for the mosaic is recorded as Dioscurus.¹³³ In neither of the building phases is there any evidence to supply even a conjectural answer to the question of how library users moved up and down between the different levels: what makes this all

the more puzzling is that the width of the podium did not allow free movement of the library staff along it at a height of nearly two and a half metres above the floor. One is tempted to suggest that the device used for communication between the different levels was a movable staircase on wheels, suitably designed to allow the librarian free access to the bookcases.

Soon after Julian's death in 363, the Christian community at Sagalassus demolished the library, destroyed its contents and defaced the figures of Achilles, Thetis and Phoenix in the mosaics. In the same spirit of vandalism the statues were smashed and the building was burnt down. And in a final attempt to bury the memory of paganism forever, the interior of the library was filled with the charred debris from the conflagration.¹³⁴

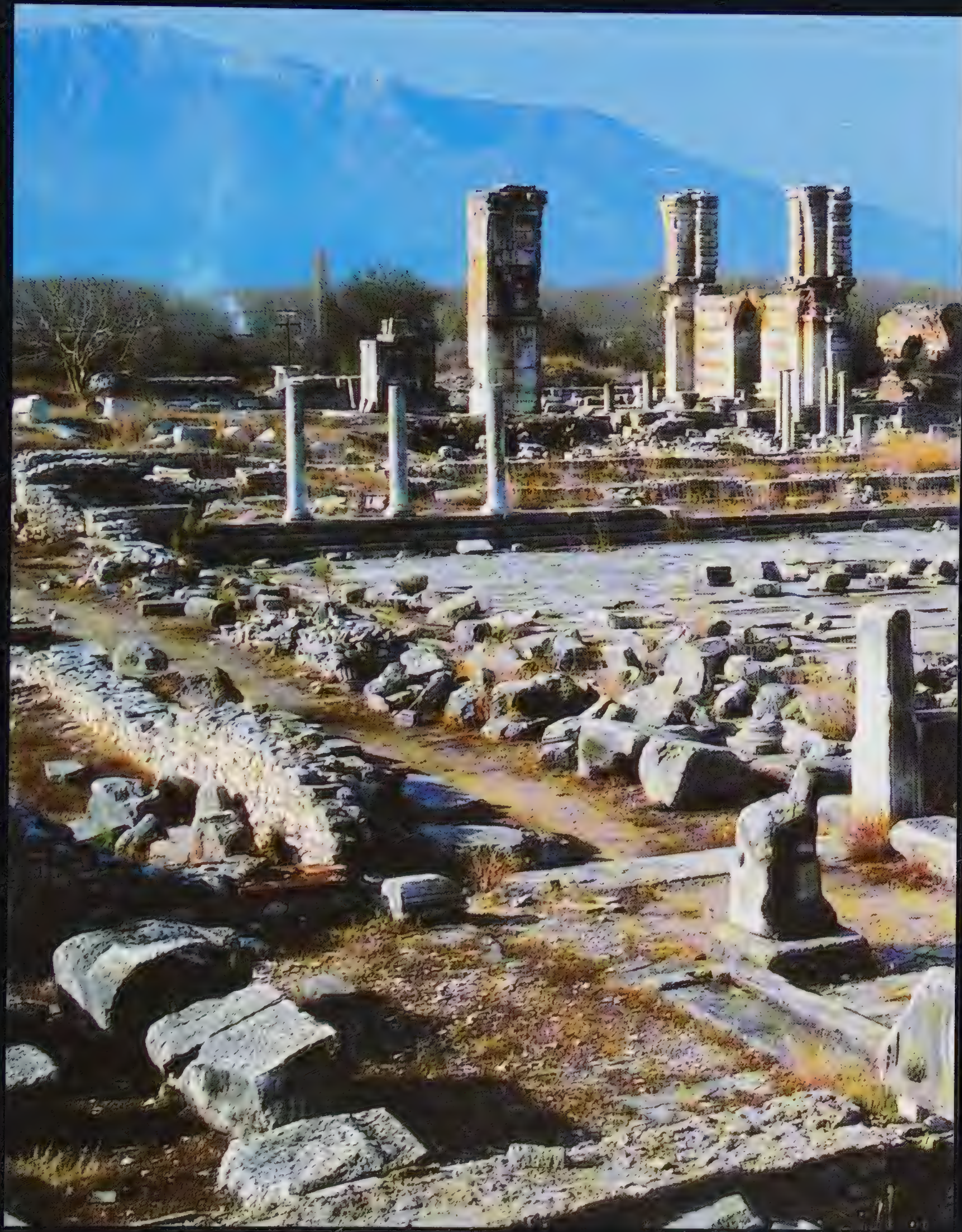
The public library at Philippi. Philippi, the ancient Macedonian city of Crenides, was renamed in 358 B.C. in honour of King Philip II of Macedonia, who was a benefactor of the city. It was conquered by the Romans in 168 B.C., and thereafter it was the capital of one of the four Macedonian federal states until 146 B.C., when it was incorporated into a unified Roman province. After the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), where Octavian and Antony dealt the death blow to the murderers of Julius Caesar, the city entered a new period of political and economic prosperity and was renamed Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis. Augustus allowed the veterans of the praetorian guard to settle there.¹³⁵

Finds from the excavation of the Forum included fragments of the architrave of a stoa and the ruins of a row of rooms abutting on the east side of the stoa. The inscription on the architrave, after restoration, informs us that a certain ... Junius ... Optatus endowed a library in honour of the imperial ruling house and the citizens of Philippi:

[...] In ho[n]orem div[i]nae do[mus] et colo[n]iae Iul(iae)
Aug(ustae) Philipp(ensis) ...]ut [...]m C[...]ia
[...] Iunior [...]s [...]oni Optatus opus bybl[iothecae ...]
a solo [...]titus ep[...]vit.¹³⁶

The inscription is dated to the middle of the second century A.D., that is about a hundred years after the death of Augustus, perhaps during the reign of Antoninus Pius or his successor. We have no literary references to a library

54. The Roman Forum at Philippi, with Mount Pangaion in the background.



at Philippi, nor even any indirect allusions hinting at intellectual activities during this period that might suggest the existence of a library there. However, it should be stressed once again that small libraries in the Roman provinces were not always exclusively literary: often they contained both literary works and archival records, that is to say public documents, the city council's official correspondence and all kinds of other documentary material to do with the city's history and the privileges it may have enjoyed.

As regards the architecture of the Philippi library,¹³⁷ it was a row of rooms with a larger room at the north end which may have been a temple, to judge by its ground plan and the presence of two statue bases found against the back (north) wall. The west side of the complex consisted of a row of squarish and



55. Plan of the complex containing the library in the Forum at Philippi, drawn by M. Sève.

rectangular rooms of approximately equal size with a protective stoa running the whole length of the row. It is hard to say what these rooms were actually used for: most probably they included storerooms for archives, book rooms open to the citizens of Philippi, a reading room and offices for the librarians or library staff. There are traces of podiums along the walls of some of the rooms – a podium being the usual means of access to the bookcases in Roman libraries – though it is impossible to say for certain whether they belong to the library of Optatus or to an earlier phase.

Libraries in Caria. Caria offers perhaps the most conspicuous example in the Near East of the extent to which, from the first century A.D. onwards, book collections were endowed by private citizens – usually members of the local ruling class – and libraries were often built to house them. Caria is a region of Asia Minor that never became as important in the Roman period as did Pergamum, Ephesus and other historic places. Even so, it is known that public libraries existed from at least as early as the second century A.D. in all four of its major cities: Halicarnassus, Aphrodisias, Heraclea and Mylasa.

Libraries at Halicarnassus? Halicarnassus, a great city famous as the capital of Caria under Mausolus, was one of the Greek cities which in the sixth century B.C. jointly founded Naucratis, a Greek colony in Egypt; and it was probably from Naucratis that it was introduced to the use of the papyrus roll at a very early date. Halicarnassus was the birthplace of some great figures in the history of poetry and history: Herodotus; his uncle, the poet Panyassis; Pigres; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who founded a school of literary style in Rome and made his name as the author of *Roman Antiquities* (*Rhomaïke Archaiologia*). Yet not even in the Ptolemaic period, when Pergamum was bidding strongly to rival the ‘universality’ of the Alexandrian Library, do we find any reference to a library at Halicarnassus or even a literary or philosophical circle naturally dependent on the school’s library. Even today, now that the archaeologist’s pickaxe has laid bare the Roman antiquities of Halicarnassus, the existence of a library there is to some extent a matter of conjecture.

William Waddington, on a tour of Greece and the Near East, discovered an inscription built into the city wall of Aphrodisias which was a copy of another city’s honorific decree in favour of the poet Gaius Julius Longianus, a citizen of Aphrodisias in Caria.¹³⁸ The *Demos* (Popular Assembly) of that unknown city had bestowed the highest honours on the poet, including the freedom of the city, and had commissioned bronze statues of him to be put up at prominent positions in the city and in the Sanctuary of the Muses and the Gymnasium of the Ephebi, next to the bust of ‘old Herodotus’. It had also given orders that his books were to be kept in the public libraries so that the young might be edified not only by the works of ancient authors but by contemporary writing too.¹³⁹

The Popular Assembly of the city that resolved to heap such honours on the otherwise unknown poet Longianus is not mentioned in the surviving fragment of the inscription that W. Waddington saw. It was evidently a large

*The works
of an unknown poet
in a public library*

city in Caria and its inhabitants were described as 'relatives' of the people of Aphrodisias; moreover, the references to libraries, the Sanctuary of the Muses and the gymnasium, which was dominated by the bust of 'old Herodotus', the 'father of history', who was born and bred at Halicarnassus, makes it clear that the Carian city in question was Halicarnassus and no other.

... τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιδημία καὶ ἐτείμησεν καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ποιημάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐπιδείξεις ποι]κίλας ἐποίησατο, δι' ὧν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εὐφραίνειν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὠφέλησεν· ἐπὶ τε τούτοις ἅπασιν ἡσθεὶς ὁ δῆμος τειμὰς αὐτῷ προσέταξεν τάς προσηκούσας ψηφίσασθαι. δεδόχθαι Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Λονγιανὸν προῖκα πεπολειτεῦσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν, ὄντα καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολεῖτην τὸν ἄριστον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ταῖς τε ἄλλαις πολιτείαις καὶ τειμαῖς τετειμηῆσθαι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων μεγίσταις καὶ εἰκόσιν χαλκαῖς, ἃς ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνασταθῆναι τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Μουσῶν τεμένει καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ἐφήβων παρὰ τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον· ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς βυβλ[ι]οις αὐτοῦ δημοσίαν ἀνάθεσιν ἔν τε βυβλιοθήκαις ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτοις οἱ νέοι παιδεύωνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν· ὅπως δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν συγγενῶν Ἀφροδισιέων φανερὰ γένηται ἡ ἡμετέρα περὶ τὸν πολεῖτην αὐτῶν εὐνοία καὶ σπουδή, δεδόχθαι καὶ ἀντίγραφον τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος πεμφθῆναι διὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῖς Ἀφροδισιεύσιν τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγείδι σημανθέν, ἐξ οὗ κακεῖνο μαθήσονται τό τε ὑμέτερον ἦθος ᾧ περὶ πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους χρώμενοι διατελοῦμεν καὶ αἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τεμαῖς ὡς διενηνοχότα τῶν ἄλλων τετειμήκαμεν.

The date of the inscription is not clear, as nothing is known about the poet named in the decree, but next to it Waddington discovered another inscription with a decree issued by a 'sacred assembly' of actors performing in Dionysiac festivities in honour of Longianus.¹⁴⁰ This latter decree can be dated to A.D. 127 on the evidence of the names of the consuls, M. Squilla Gallicanus and T. Atilius Rufus Titianus;¹⁴¹ and Waddington, asserting that both decrees referred to the same person, maintained that they should both be dated to the year 127. Thus we have a 'literary' resolution passed by the Popular Assembly in Hadrian's reign in honour of a poet by the name of C. Julius Longianus,

concerning the endowment of a gymnasium library and public libraries in Halicarnassus and, for reasons unknown to us, honouring the poet to the extent of putting him on a par with no less a writer than Herodotus.¹⁴²

The library at Aphrodisias. At Aphrodisias, a city in Caria that became very prosperous under the Roman Empire, there is evidence of a library dating from the second century A.D. This city, the birthplace of the scholarly commentator on Aristotle known as Alexander of Aphrodisias, also had a philosophy school renowned for its high standard of teaching. All that is known about the library is that a person unknown from any other source named Jason, son of Menodotus, son of Menadros, son of Prabreas, donated a library to the city, in recognition of which the local *Boule* (Council) and Popular Assembly set up the following inscription:

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν
Ἰάσωνα Μηνοδότου τοῦ Μενάδρου τοῦ Πραβρέα ... τετελειωκότα ...
[...]
ἐξέδρας τὰ λείποντα λευκόλιθα πεποιηκότα
πάντα σὺν ὀποφαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κείουσιν καὶ
βιβλιοθήκαις καὶ τοῖς φυραματικοῖς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ...¹⁴³

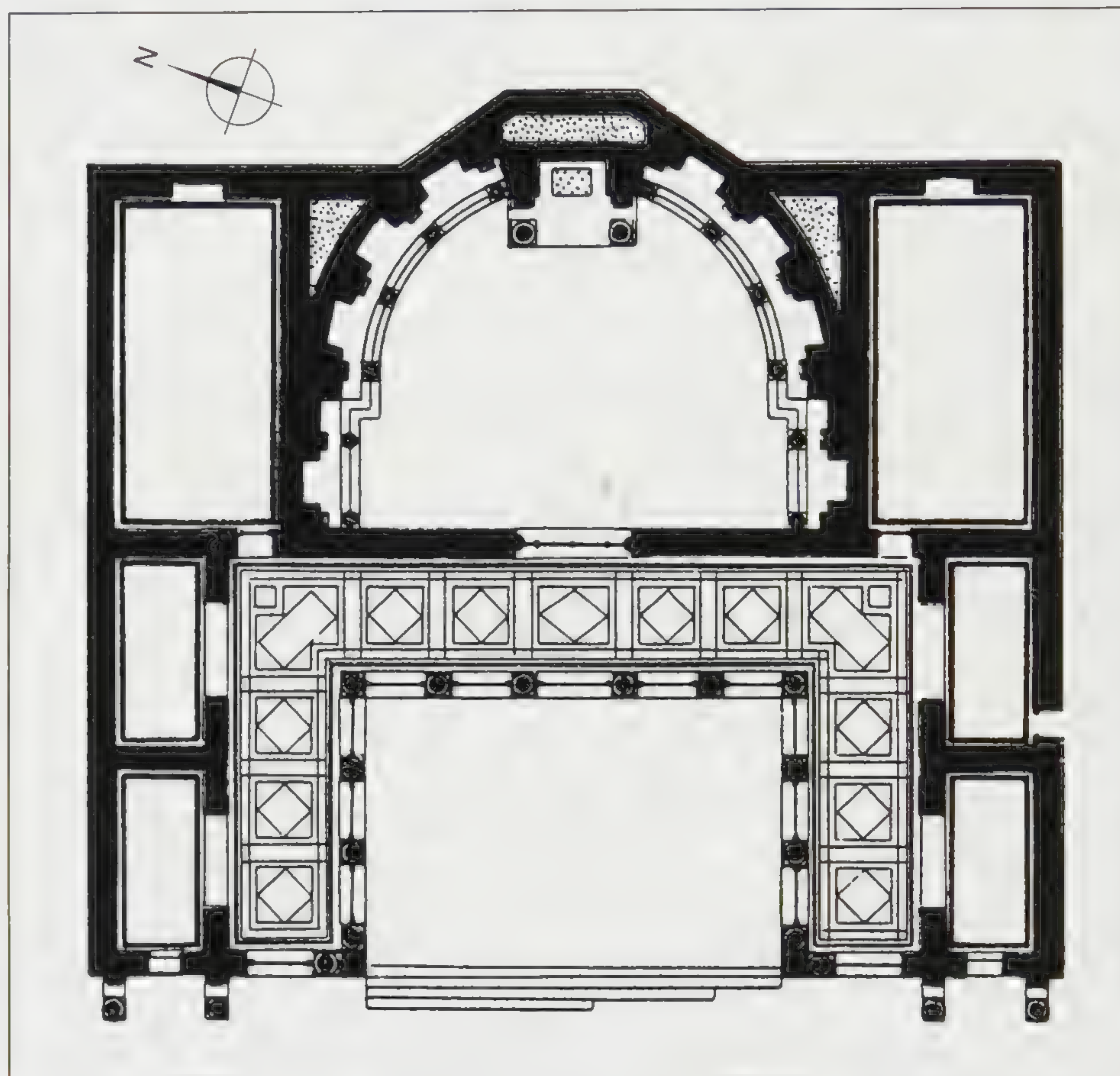
The library at Heraclea. In the second century A.D. Heraclea in Caria was evidently a city with a very flourishing cultural life and a prosperous economy, to judge by the monuments brought to light in archaeological excavations. One of those monuments was most probably the public library, whose construction was funded by a member of the aristocratic Statilius family. The evidence for this comes from three fragments of a lavishly-decorated marble inscription of the second century. The text of the inscription, as reconstructed by W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calter after careful study, reads as follows:

[τὴν βιβλιοθή]κην ἐκ θεμελίων κατ[α]σκευάσαντες καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐ[τὴν]
κόσμον ...]ος ἀνέθηκαν τῇ π[ατρ]ίδι
[ἐκ τῶν Τ. Στα]τιλίου Ἀπ[ολλιναρίου (;) χρημάτων].¹⁴⁴

The founder of this library 'dedicated to the fatherland', perhaps Statilius Apollinarius, certainly belonged to the aristocratic Statilius family of Rome, whose members are frequently mentioned in inscriptions found at Heraclea.¹⁴⁵

The library at Mylasa. A fragment of an inscription found at Mylasa, which had been the capital of Caria until Mausolus moved the seat of government to Halicarnassus, attests to the existence of a library: ... ἣν περὶ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην πᾶ ... No other evidence has come down to us apart from this inscription, nor is there any literary reference to a library at Mylasa.¹⁴⁶

Libraries in North Africa: The library at Thamugadi. A typical example of a library as an essential cultural feature of every city in the eastern



56. *Conjectural reconstruction of the plan of the library at Thamugadi (Timgad), drawn by H. F. Pfeiffer.*

imperial and senatorial provinces is the case of the Roman city of Thamugadi, founded on Trajan's initiative, early in the second century A.D., as a new home for veterans of the Third Legion. Thamugadi, now known as Timgad, is in Algeria. Its official name in Trajan's time was Colonia Ulpia Marciana Trajani Thamugadi.¹⁴⁷ It was not the cultural centre of this region of Numidia, but much later, probably towards the end of the third century, Marcus Julius Quintianus Flavius Rogatianus, of whom all that is known is that he belonged

to the senatorial class (*clarissimae memoriae vir*), gave the city a grant of 400,000 sesterces for the construction of a library:

*Ex liberalitate M. Juli(i) Quintiani Flavi(i) Rogatiani c(larissimae) m(emoriae) v(iri) quam testamento suo reipublicae coloniae Thamugadensium patriae suae legavit opus bibliothecae ex sestertium CCCC mil(ibus) num(mum) curante republica perfectum est.*¹⁴⁸



57. General view of Thamugadi. The most conspicuous features are the theatre and the triumphal arch.

The library at Thamugadi was excavated at the very beginning of the twentieth century (in 1901) by M.R. Cagnat and A. Ballu, who published the first results of their archaeological research with the dedicatory inscription of the library, which was found *in situ*. It seems odd that, although the city was founded early in the second century, such a central site was still empty at least a century later and available for the construction of a new detached building. It might, of course, have been built on the foundations of an earlier building, or the dating may be wrong. Be that as it may, the library of Rogatianus occupies a whole block right at the central crossroads of the city, next to the



58. Conjectural reconstruction of the façade and longitudinal section of the Thamugadi library, drawn by H. F. Pfeiffer.

civic centre complex (*cardo maximus*), which comprised the forum, the basilica, the Senate House and the theatre.¹⁴⁹

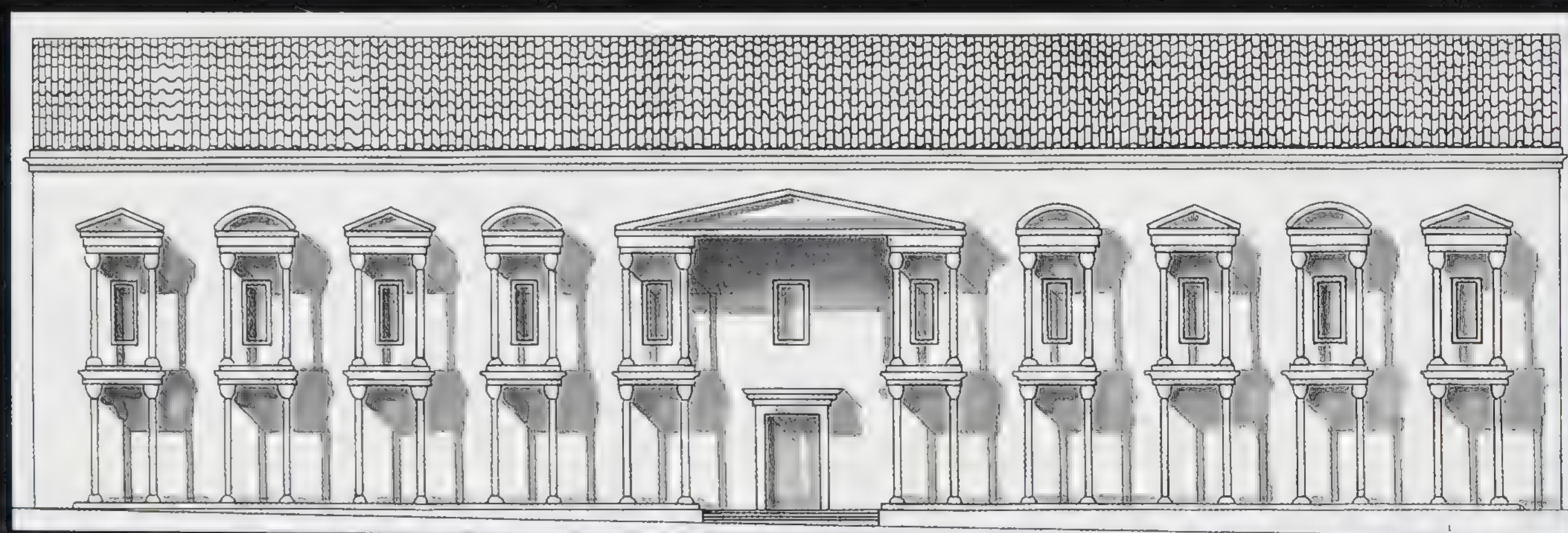
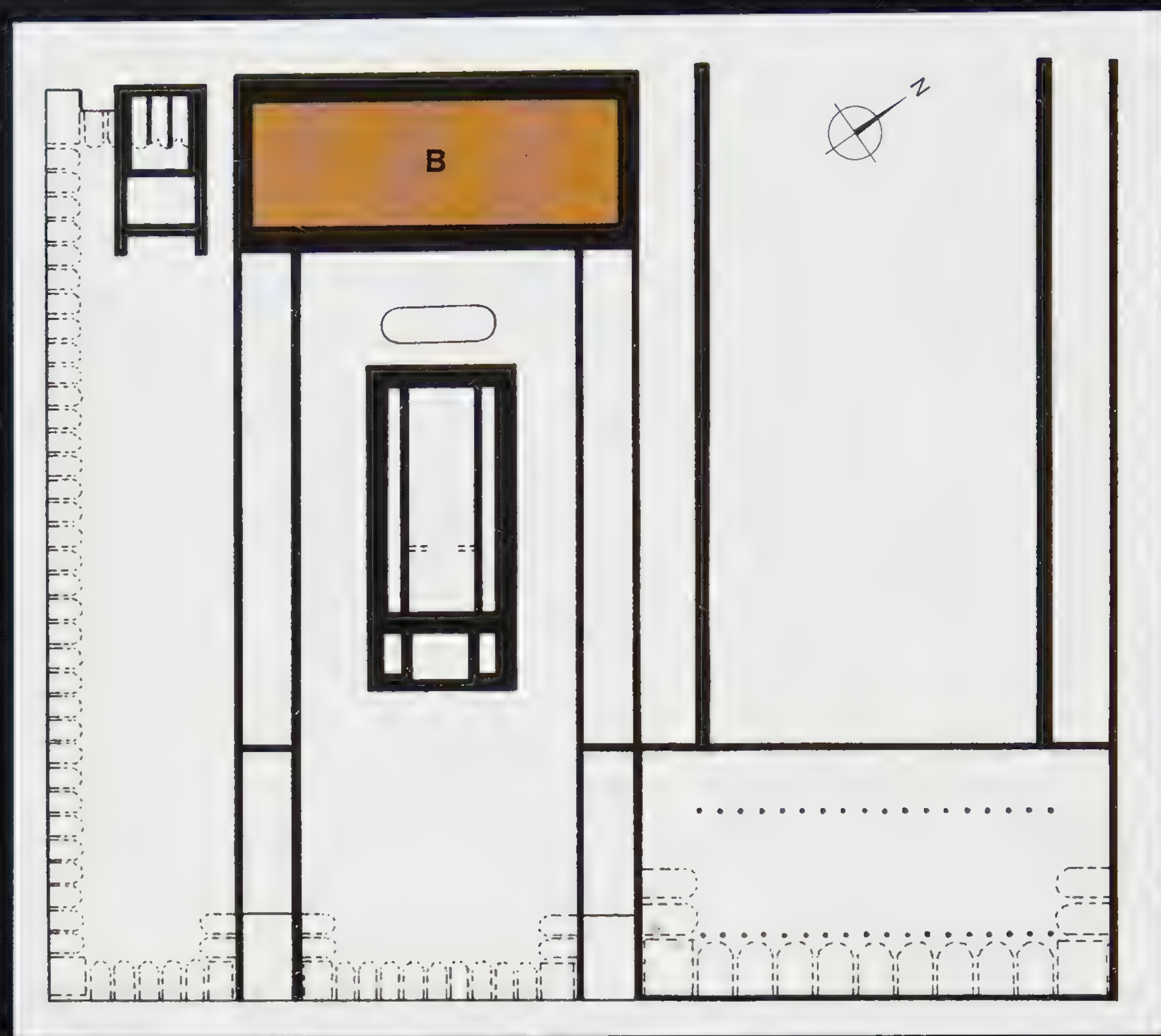
The design of the library was fairly original, both aesthetically and typologically, as one can see from the suggested reconstruction.¹⁵⁰ The main entrance was approached by a very broad flight of steps running almost the whole length of the façade. At the top of the steps there was a courtyard colonnaded on three sides. Opening off the colonnade were six small rooms arranged symmetrically about the longitudinal axis: these were used as library offices and storerooms. The main hall of the library occupied the middle of the east side: it was basically rectangular in plan but with a semicircular apse at the far end, opposite the doorway leading into the room from the colonnade. The ceiling of the apse was most probably a semidome supported on the west side by an arch containing a window providing illumination for the main hall.¹⁵¹ Here, then, in defiance of the guidelines laid down by Vitruvius, we have a library that faced west instead of east. The interior contains no departures from the usual typology: there was a range of columns bounding the platform running along each of the side walls, where the bookcase recesses were; and directly opposite the main entrance, in the centre of the back wall, there was a temple-fronted recess framed by two columns and an architrave and containing a statue of a god or goddess or of the Emperor. It was just a small provincial library by modern standards, with no great stock of books, to judge by the fact that it had only eight bookcases (four on each side of the central recess); but it was evidently well organized, considering the number of auxiliary rooms that existed in addition to the main hall with its bookcases.¹⁵²

Architectural
design

The library at Carthage. At Carthage, Rome's great rival and one of the great Latin-speaking cities of the East, some notable collections of books were formed over the years and there was at least one major public library. As already mentioned, when the city was finally conquered in 146 B.C. Carthaginian books were not considered sufficiently valuable to be taken back to Rome as spoils of war, and so they were shared out among African princes who had allied themselves with the Romans.¹⁵³ The one exception was the treatise on agriculture by Mago of Carthage, which the Senate ordered to be translated into Latin by a committee headed by Decimus Junius Silanus.¹⁵⁴

Jean Deneauve maintains that the monumental building he excavated in the upper city of Carthage, south of the Forum, which dates from the time of the Antonines (towards the end of the second century), was the Carthage public

Evidence for a public
library at Carthage



library.¹⁵⁵ It is a rectangular two-storey building, 65 metres long by 22 metres wide, whose façade extends symmetrically on either side of a temple-fronted portico with noticeable elements of Roman baroque architecture (superimposed *aediculae*). Its architectural design was probably modelled on that of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus.¹⁵⁶ Some of its features indicate that the library building probably survived at least until the Byzantine period.¹⁵⁷ It may have been the *bibliotheca publica* mentioned by Apuleius in his book *Florida, pomposi fori scrinia publica*.¹⁵⁸ Apuleius of Madaura, who studied rhetoric in Carthage and philosophy in Athens, became embroiled in a lawsuit heard by the pro-consul Claudius Maximus (A.D. 158/159), facing a charge of using magic. In his *Apology* he refers to public libraries where he had found books on mystical cults: presumably he had been influenced by the Neoplatonist thinking that he favoured.¹⁵⁹

Another indirect reference to Carthaginian books, and perhaps books by Carthaginian writers, concerns Emperor Claudius, who wrote a history of Carthage in eight books, basing his work on unknown sources and material of unknown origin. It is worth remarking that Claudius's work was responsible for the addition of a new section to the library of the Museum in Alexandria, where the practice was established of having passages of Carthaginian history read aloud by different readers on set days in the Emperor's honour;¹⁶⁰ but that is a digression. At all events, Carthage was still an important centre of the book trade in the Christian era: with Trier, Constantinople and Alexandria, it was one of the richest markets for books in the fourth century.¹⁶¹

A public library at Bulla Regia? At Bulla Regia, an ancient royal city in Numidia which was a thriving centre of learning under the Empire, there is a building that Marcel Leglay considers may have been the public library. Excavations on the site, conducted jointly by the French and Tunisians since 1972, have brought to light an entire block of the city conventionally known as the *esplanades monumentales*, near the theatre.¹⁶² This area, described as sacred, contained a temple of Isis and two parks with shrines and *aediculae* here and there, and numerous statues in the open spaces between them. Among these monuments was a building, perhaps a library, situated on the north side of a

59. Plan of the monumental centre of Carthage during the second phase, after J. Deneauve.

60. Conjectural reconstruction of the façade of the library at Carthage. Drawing based on the model of the monumental city centre (late second century A.D.) made under the supervision of J. Deneauve and N. Ferchion.

grand stoa.¹⁶³ It had two main entrances leading into a polygonal hall whose dominant feature was a semicircular colonnade of eight columns. This colonnade gave easy access to a square exedra on the north side of the building, which, it is thought, may have been a reading room for library users. Above



61. Plan of part of the monumental centre of Bulla Regia, drawn by M. Leglay.

the rectangular recesses so characteristic of ancient libraries, here arranged symmetrically along the south wall, there may have been a gallery giving access to a second row of bookcases higher up the wall.

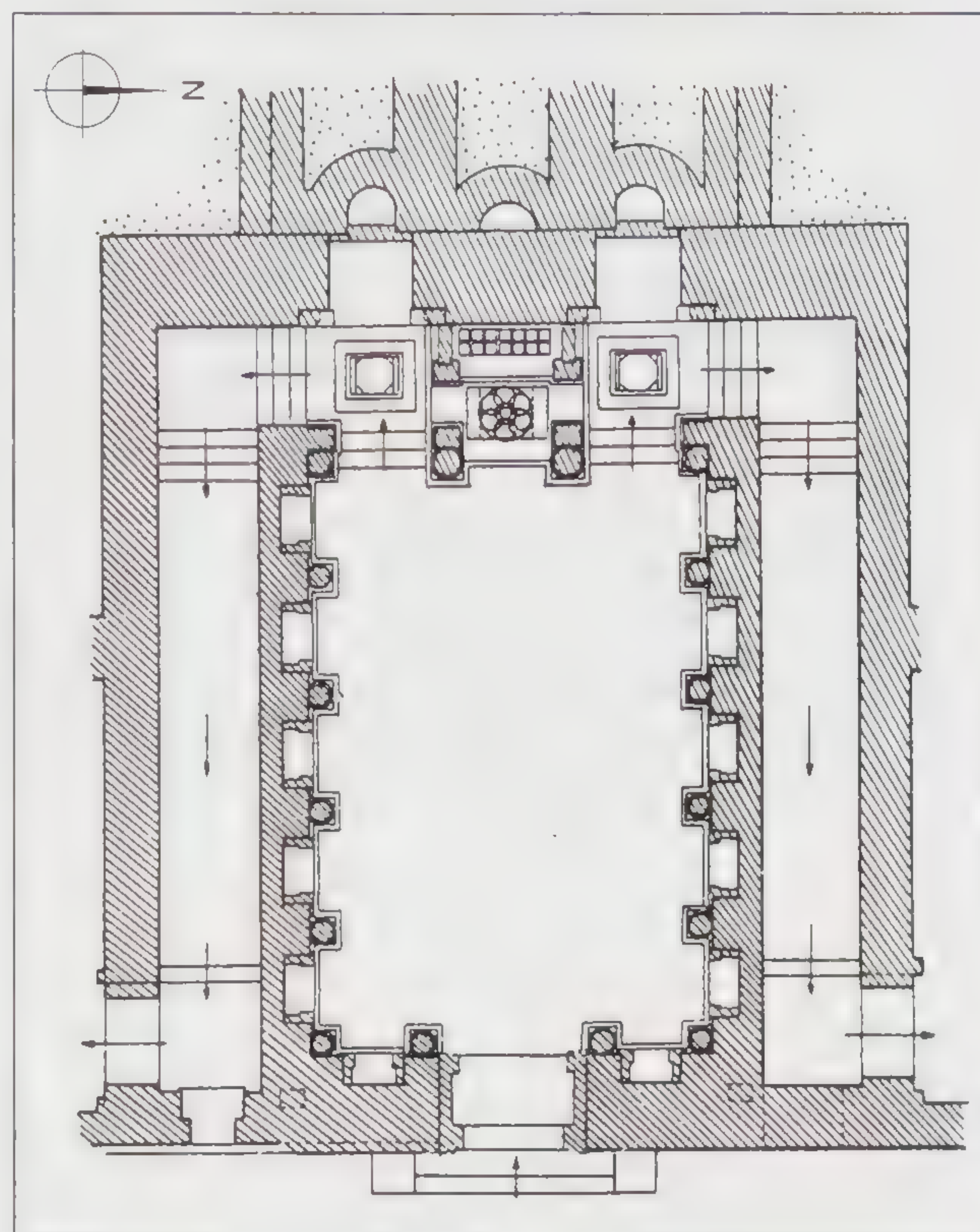
M. Leglay explains his thinking on the subject, drawing a comparison between this library and that of Rogatianus at Thamugadi, and concludes that both libraries (the one at Bulla Regia and that of Rogatianus) must have been opened at almost the same time in the late second or early third century: this would perhaps account for the affinities in their architectural design, each of them having a semicircular main hall.¹⁶⁴

Were there any libraries in the Empire's northern provinces? There is nothing remarkable about the fact that in the cities of Northern Italy and beyond the Alps, in Gaul and Spain, public libraries – whether as independent buildings or attached to markets and *thermae* – were not an essential part of social and cultural life. The fact is that until near the end of the second century A.D. there is no evidence whatever of cultural institutions, schools or other educational establishments in any of the northern provinces of the Roman Empire, which implies that there was no real interest in the copying and dissemination of books in those regions. That would explain why Pliny the Younger was so surprised to find booksellers at Lugdunum (Lyon) selling his books.¹⁶⁵ This being the case, it is certainly a most striking exception to find that one library – and only one – actually did exist in the whole of the

northern part of the Empire, and that as early as the reign of Augustus. What makes it all the more remarkable is that certain basic features of its architectural design are out of keeping both with the normal typology of Graeco-Roman libraries and with the site where it stood, as we shall see.

The building in question was the so-called 'Temple of Diana' at Nîmes, in France, which is thought to have been used as a library.¹⁶⁶ This temple, dedi-

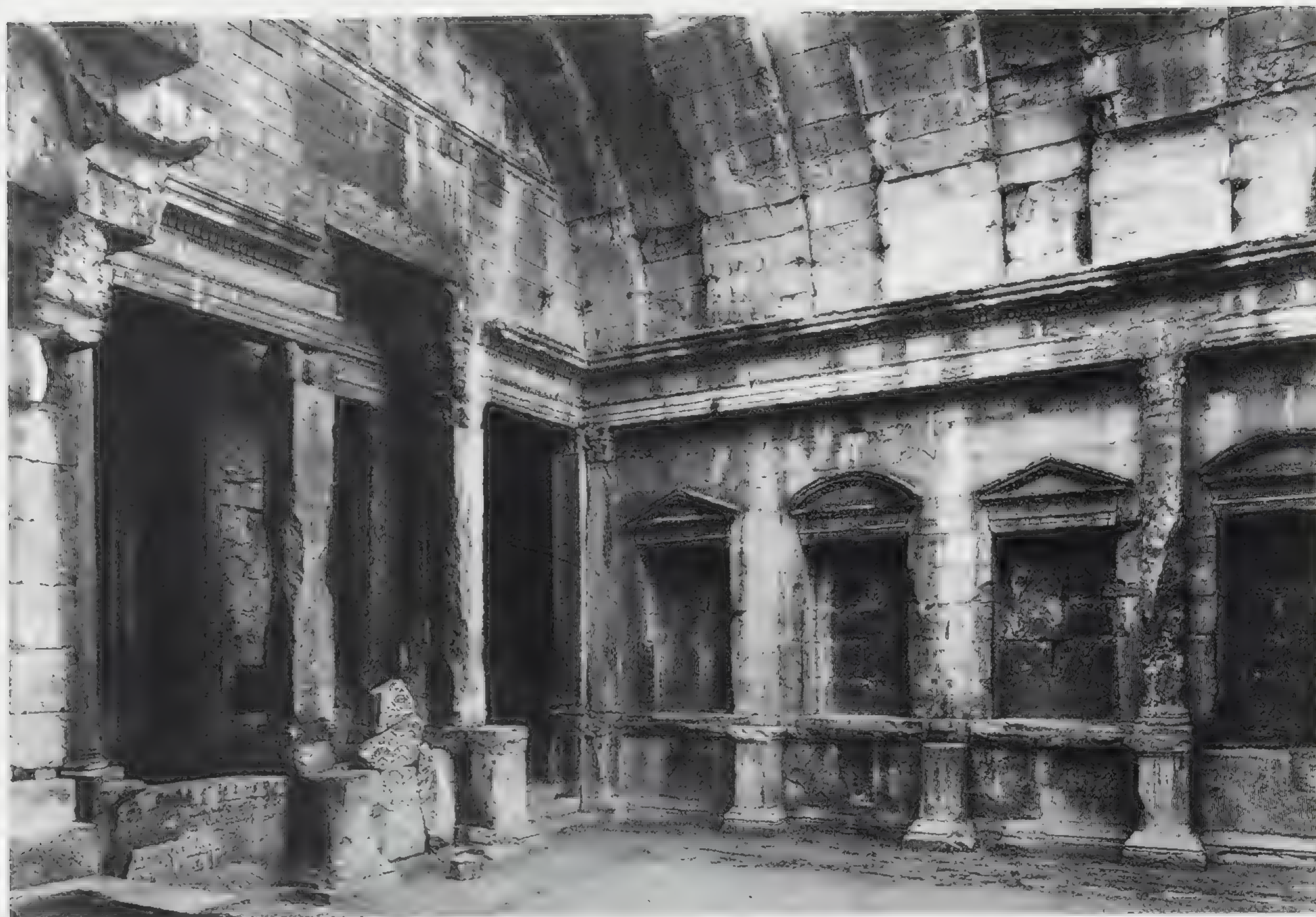
cated to the worship of Diana, was associated with a spring whose guardian spirit was considered divine (*Neman-sus*), from which the water may have been channelled to a fountain inside the temple. The first point to be noted in the design of the temple is the way it was 'armoured', to such an extent that the main room of the library (if it was a library) was completely protected by a Π -shaped perimeter corridor which probably also served some functional needs of the temple or library. The only indication that this place was used for books is the presence of rectangular recesses in the side walls, with the *armaria* (book cupboards) ranged along three sides so as to form an L-shape on



62. Plan of the putative library in the 'Temple of Diana' at Nîmes, drawn by R. Naumann.

either side of the main doorway. Directly opposite the entrance is the usual alcove, here taking the form of a peristyle *aedicula*, to house a cult statue or some other statue with symbolic significance. On either side of the *aedicula* there were three steps leading up to the perimeter corridors. Each of the rectangular recesses was framed by a row of engaged columns with exquisite Ionic capitals and crowned by an architrave supporting a vaulted ceiling.

To conclude this survey of public and private libraries in provincial Italy and the non-Italian provinces, it should be noted that there must have been any number of *oeci* and rooms that were used for filing away correspondence, archival records and works of Greek and Latin literature written on tablets or papyrus rolls but possess no distinctive features showing that they served that purpose. Consequently historians and archaeologists have sometimes been



63. The interior of the 'Temple of Diana' at Nîmes.



64. The interior face of the west wall of the ruined city gate at Perge.

unable to identify these places as libraries on the basis of the available evidence, and sometimes they have identified as libraries rooms that were in fact used for other purposes. The main architectural feature indicating that a room was used as a library is the presence of rectangular recesses in a symmetrical arrangement. Examples are to be seen in what is said to have been Augustus's private library on the Palatine Hill,¹⁶⁷ the semicircular apse with exedrae and two rows of niches in the Basilica of Maxentius or Constantine,¹⁶⁸ a room in the portico attached to the Basilica Aemilia,¹⁶⁹ the rectangular recesses in the Capitolium at Ostia,¹⁷⁰ and another unidentified ruin, part of the public market at Side,¹⁷¹ containing rectangular arched recesses which are thought to have held bookcases. In the same way, bookcases are believed to have been built into the rectangular recesses in the gymnasium at Hierapolis,¹⁷² which are similar to the fairly well-preserved rectangular recesses in Perge, the monumental city of the Hellenistic period,¹⁷³ and in the so-called library of the Pantheon.¹⁷⁴

Rectangular recesses are not the only characteristic features making it possible for buildings of unknown function to be identified as libraries, for there are a number of 'twin' buildings of uncertain original design that have been interpreted as probable twin libraries (one Greek and one Latin), one such being the Southeast Building at Corinth.¹⁷⁵ When Corinth became a Roman colony in 44 B.C. and the city plan was modified, a rectangular building with a surrounding stoa was erected on the south side of the Agora. It is laid out symmetrically about a lateral axis, with two almost square halls flanked by two rectangular rooms which are thought to have served as a bilingual library with auxiliary bookcases providing additional capacity.

Nor is it only the architectural features that are often misleading, because sometimes there are literary sources hinting at bookish pursuits which imply that there must have been a public library, though the existence of such a library cannot be proved or identified with any ruin discovered by archaeologists. A case in point is that of Marcellus of Side, a physician and poet active in the second century A.D. who, besides the poems he was commissioned to write by Herodes Atticus, also composed a very long didactic poem about methods of medical treatment. Somehow he happened to attract the attention of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, both of whom gave orders that Marcellus's writings were to be stocked in the libraries of Rome.¹⁷⁶ Then there was the case of Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis in Lycia, a wealthy contemporary and colleague of Marcellus's, described in an honorific inscription as 'the Homer of medical poetry', who gave copies of his works to the library of his

home town and to various libraries in Alexandria, Rhodes and Athens.¹⁷⁷ Finally, in the important ancient city of Soli, in Cyprus, there was a library, perhaps in the first century A.D., whose existence is proved by an inscription stating that the son of Apollonius held the post of librarian.¹⁷⁸

Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγίαι. Ῥοδιαπολειτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν ταῖς διηνεκέσιν κατ' ἔτος τειμαῖς Ἡράκλειτον Ἡρακλείτου Ὀρείου τὸν πολεῖτην καὶ Ῥόδιον, φιλόπατριν, ἱερέα Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγίας, ἱκόνι ἐπιχρύσω καὶ τῷ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδριάντι· ὃν ἐτείμησαν ὁμοίως Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, Ῥόδιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἡ ἱερωτάτῃ Ἀρεοπαγειτῶν βουλὴ καὶ οἱ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ θυμελικὴ σύνοδος, πρῶτον ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἱατρὸν καὶ συγγραφέα καὶ ποιητὴν ἔργων ἱατρικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὃν ἀνέγραψαν ἱατρικῶν ποιημάτων Ὅμηρον εἶναι, ἀλιτουργησία τιμηθέντα, ἱατρεύσαντα προῖκα, ναὸν κατασκευάσαντα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναθέντα Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγίας καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήματα τῇ πατρίδι Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι, Ῥοδίοις, Ἀθηναίοις, χαρισάμενον τῇ πατρίδι εἰς διανομὰς καὶ ἀγῶνας Ἀσκληπίων καὶ ἀργυρίου * μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χίλια· ὃν ἐτείμησεν ἡ πατρίς καὶ προεδρία.

To sum up what has been said in this chapter, it should be reiterated that from the second century A.D. onwards both the social and bureaucratic organization of the Roman provinces and the enormous development and spread of Greek and Latin literature made it obligatory for every community to have an archival and literary library, even if only of the most basic kind. And, having accepted this axiom, we find ourselves looking at a gigantic puzzle whose 'pieces', other than the administrators, include scholars, teachers, students, grammarians and sophists, literary patrons, aspiring writers and the educated classes of every region, who travelled in the Mediterranean countries as members of a single community, using books as a means of promoting knowledge and passing it on to a heterogeneous population which nevertheless had a shared cultural background, a *cultura nostra*.

65. Schematic reconstruction of the dedicatory inscription of the Boule (Council) of Rhodiapolis in honour of Heraclitus.

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΙΚΑΙΥΓΙΑΙ

ΡΟΔΙΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΚΑΙΗΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΙΣΔΙΗΝΙ
ΚΕΣΙΝΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΙ
5 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥΟΡΕΙΟΥΤΟΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝΚΑΙ
ΡΟΔΙΟΝΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝΙΕΡΕΑΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΥΓΙΑΣ·ΙΚΟΝΙΕΠΙΧΡΥΣΩΚΑΙΤΩΤΗ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΙΟΝΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝΟΜ
ΩΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣΡΟΔΙΟΙΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΚΑΙ
10 ΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΗΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΕΙΤΩΝΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΙ
ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΕΙΟΙΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙΚΑΙΗ
ΙΕΡΑΘΥΜΕΛΙΚΗΣΥΝΟΔΟΣΠΡΩΤΟΝΑΠΑΙ
ΩΝΟΣΙΑΤΡΟΝΚΑΙΣΥΝΓΡΑΦΕΑΚΑΙΠΟΙΗ
ΤΗΝΕΡΓΩΝΙΑΤΡΙΚΗΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ
15 ΟΝΑΝΕΓΡΑΨΑΝΙΑΤΡΙΚΩΝΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ
ΟΜΗΡΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΑΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΗΣΙΑΤΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΑ
ΙΑΤΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΠΡΟΙΚΑΝΑΟΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥ
ΑΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑΑΝΑΘΕΝΤΑΑΣΚΛΗ
ΠΙΟΥΚΑΙΥΓΕΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΣΥΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑΑΥ
20 ΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΑΛΕΞΑΝ
ΔΡΕΥΣΙΡΟΔΙΟΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣΧΑΡΙΣΑ
ΜΕΝΟΝΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΙΣΔΙΑΝΟΜΑΣΚΑΙ
ΑΓΩΝΑΣΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΝΚΑΙΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ
ΧΜΥΡΙΑΚΑΙΠΕΝΤΑΚΙΣΧΙΛΙΑΟΝΕΤΕΙ
25 ΜΗΣΕΝΗΠΑΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ

NOTES

VI

Libraries under the Empire

NOTES

1. See M. R. Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques municipales dans l'empire romain', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France* 38 (1909) 2.
2. See p. 198; also Th. Mommsen, *Étude sur Pline le Jeune*, Paris, 1873, 75 n. 1.
3. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 2; *CIL* V 7376: *Lectio tota incerta est et parum fida*.
4. See Cagnat, *op. cit.*, 2; *CIL* XI 2704: *is bybliothecam a solo ... [cu]mque libris et statuis ... [t]estamento dedit*.
5. See Cagnat, *op. cit.*, 2; *CIL* X 4760: *Suessae, in bibliotheca M[at]idiana*.
6. See p. 257.
7. See pp. 256 ff.
8. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 16-20; L. Richardson, Jr., 'The Libraries of Pompeii', *Archaeology* 30, 6 (1977) 400; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 170-171.
9. See J. Overbeck, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1884, 114-117; F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Pompei*, Milan, 1976, 136-138; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 171-172.
10. See Coarelli, *Guida*, 123-126; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 172.
11. See Overbeck, *Pompeji*, 141; Coarelli, *Guida*, 112; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 172-173.
12. See A. Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria*, Rome, 1933, 84 ff.; Richardson, 'The Libraries', 397-399; V. M. Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', *Gymnasium* 88 (1981) 298 ff.; R. Ling, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii I*, Oxford, 1997.
13. See Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', 298; P. Knüvener, 'Private Bibliotheken in Pompeji und Herculaneum', in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Antike Bibliotheken*, Mainz, 2002, 83.
14. See pp. 72-74.
15. The journal of the excavations and finds was published by D. Comparetti and G. De Petra, *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*, Turin, 1883 (repr. Naples, 1972).
16. See F. Longo-Auricchio and M. Capasso, 'I rotoli della Villa ercolanese: dislocazione e ritrovamento', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 17 (1987) 37-47.
17. The method devised by the Genoese monk Antonio Piaggio involved unrolling the papyrus roll by sticking a membranous leather backing on to the papyrus and then gently unwinding it with the aid of a machine he had invented. In this way numerous books were read without being destroyed. See M. Capasso, 'Per la storia della papirologia ercolanese. III: Il Piaggio a lavoro (da un documento e un disegno inediti)', in M. Capasso (ed.), *Bicentenario della morte di Antonio Piaggio, Raccolta di Studi*, Lecce, 1997, 61-67.
18. On Kleve's method see B. Fosse, K. Kleve and F. C. Stürmer, 'Unrolling the Herculaneum Papyri', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 14 (1984) 9-15; K. Kleve, A. Angeli and M. Capasso, 'Three Technical Guides to the Papyri of Herculaneum', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 21 (1991) 111-124.
19. Calpurnius Piso was an outstanding figure who has been compared with Cato the Elder, the censor who was so uncompromising a holder of that office that he was surnamed Censorius. His

- historical writings were used by Varro, Livy and others: see G. Forsythe, *The Historian L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi*, Lanham, 1994.
20. On Philodemus's life and work see T. Dorandi, 'Dichtender Philosoph und philosophierender Dichter: Das literarische Schaffen des Epikureers Philodem von Gadara', *WJA* 18 (1992) 183-193; M. Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy*, Ann Arbor, 1995 (tr. D. Obbink).
 21. See M. Erler, 'Orthodoxie und Anpassung. Philodem, ein Panaitios des Kepos?', *MH* 49 (1992) 171-200. On Tucca's relations with Virgil see p. 125 herein.
 22. See G. Sauron, 'Templa serena. À propos de la "Villa des Papyri" d'Herculanum: contribution à l'étude des comportements aristocratiques romains à la fin de la République', *MEFR(A)* 92 (1980) 277-301; Maria Rita Wojcik, *La villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano*, Rome, 1986; P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut Empire. 2: Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Paris, 2001, 297-298.
 23. On the extremely lavish ornamentation of the villa see D. Pandermalis, 'Il programma decorativo nella Villa dei Papiri' (tr. from 'Zum Programm der Statuenansstattung in der Villa dei Papiri'), *Secondo suppl. a Cronache Ercolanesi* 13 (1983) 19-50.
 24. See J.J. Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben von den herculanischen Entdeckungen*, Deutsche Aus., 1792, 83.
 25. See G. Cavallo, 'Libri scritte scribe a Ercolano', *Primo suppl. a Cronache Ercolanesi*, Naples, 1983, 26-27.
 26. On the Stoic writings found in the library at Herculaneum see L. Marrone, 'Testi stoici ercolanesi', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 17 (1987) 181-184; Ead., 'Testi stoici ercolanesi', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 18 (1988) 223-225.
 27. See K. Kleve, 'An approach to the Latin Papyri from Herculaneum', in *Storia, poesia e pensiero nel mondo antico. Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante*, Naples, 1994, 313-320; G. Del Mastro, 'Secondo supplemento al catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 19 (1989) 5-27; K. Kleve, 'Ennius in Herculaneum', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 20 (1990) 5-16.
 28. Hermarchus met Epicurus at his birthplace, Mytilene, and studied under him. Subsequently Epicurus nominated him to be his successor as head of the school. Polystratus lived in the third century B.C., studied under Epicurus and succeeded Hermarchus as head of the Epicurean school. Carneiscus, born on Cos or Rhodes, was active at about the same time as Hermarchus and Polystratus (circa 300 B.C.); he too was a pupil of Epicurus. Demetrius Lacon (second century B.C.) was another member of the Epicurean circle: he was a fellow-student and friend of Zeno of Sidon.
 29. A chronicle of this whole exciting process of literary discovery is given in the introduction to a new edition of Philodemus's epigrams: see G.E. Karamanolis, *Φιλόδημος. Τὰ ἐπιγράμματα*, Thessaloniki, 2004.
 30. Athen., *Deipn.* v.206 ff.
According to a treatise by Moschio which attracted the attention of Athenaeus centuries later, Hiero II, the king of Syracuse (269-216 B.C.), was interested not only in building temples and gymnasia but also in shipbuilding. Accordingly, with the support of no less a person than Archimedes, he decided to build a giant 'ocean liner' and appointed the architect Archias of Corinth to be in charge of its construction. Using the best materials available in the South and the North, he managed to have the ship built

and launched within a year. It had three decks, and besides the passengers' cabins and living quarters for the crew it contained promenades, a gymnasium, gardens full of exotic plants and a chapel dedicated to Aphrodite. Next to the temple was a library big enough to be furnished with five couches: its walls and doorways were made of boxwood and it contained a collection of books. Its vaulted ceiling was decorated with a sundial in imitation of the one at Achradina (a district of Syracuse). However, owing to her great size, it was difficult to find a harbour anywhere in the Mediterranean that was large enough for the *Syracusia* to berth, and eventually Hiero decided to give her to the king of Egypt, Ptolemy III Euergetes.

31. On the Library of Pantaenus, which was excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in the early decades of the twentieth century, see T. L. Shear, 'The Campaign of 1933', *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 331-339; M. Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche sulle antiche biblioteche del mondo greco', *RAL* 18 (1963) 87-92; J. Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romertiget i det 2. århundrede e Chr.*, Copenhagen, 1976, 76-80; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 25-30; J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, London, 1986, 187-193.
32. The inscription was published by B. D. Meritt in his paper 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 233.
33. See Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, 188.
34. If we accept that both the marble lintel with the dedicatory inscription and the older marble paving of the courtyard (where the peristyle was added later) were parts of the school of Flavius Pantaenus and not of some other building

bought by Titus Flavius for this purpose, then we have here the exact site of a school specializing in philosophy.

35. In the light of this evidence, the library must have been opened after A.D. 102, when Trajan triumphed over the Dacians.
36. See T. L. Shear, 'The Campaign of 1937', *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 328.
37. This second inscription relating to the library was found in the Valerian Wall in 1935: see T. L. Shear, 'The Campaign of 1935', *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 41; R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, 150; Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 18 (1963) 90-91; Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, 191. The opening hours, from six a.m. to twelve noon, may have been determined by the morning sunlight and the orientation of the courtyard, two factors that were crucial to the smooth running of every ancient library.
38. See Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 18 (1963) 89-90.
39. See J. H. Oliver, 'Flavius Pantaenus, Priest of the Philosophical Muses', *HThR* 72 (1979) 157-160.
40. Dyrrhachium was the provincial capital of Epirus Nova, and the normal route for the overland journey from west to east was through Epirus Vetus along the Via Egnatia, which terminated in the west at Dyrrhachium. See C. Praschniker and A. Schober, *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro*, Vienna, 1920.
41. In 61 B.C. Cicero wrote to Atticus from Rome, saying that he hoped his brother would meet Atticus at Dyrrhachium (I.17). In 58 B.C. he told Atticus that on his way from Brundisium to Greece he had received two messages at Dyrrhachium (III.8) and that he had good friends among the people of that city (III.22).

- And in another letter, written in 57 B.C., he mentioned his voyage from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium (iv.1).
42. See L. Heuzey, 'Quelques inscriptions de l'Illyrie et de la Thrace', *Revue Archéologique*, n.s. 6 (1862) 322; *CIL* III 607; Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 39 (1984) 312-313.
 43. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 3; On provincial libraries in general see A. Langie, *Les bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Fribourg, 1908.
 44. The excavation of the library was conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute under the direction of M. Heberdey and W. Wilberg at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first publications on the subject of the library, by M. Benndorf and M. Heberdey, appeared in 1905: see *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 8 (1905). M. R. Cagnat then incorporated all those references in his article 'Les bibliothèques', 6-10.
 45. See E. Groag, 'Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus', in *RE*, 10/1 (1917), 544, No. 183; *PIR*², IV 3, No. 260 (giving the Celsus family tree); W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, Munich, 1970, 174; M. Corbier, *L'Aerarium Saturni et l'Aerarium Militare*, Rome, 1974, 372-378; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Göttingen, 1979, 111, No. 16; R. Syme, *Roman Papers*, Oxford, 1979, 578 ff.
 46. See E. Groag, 'Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus', in *RE*, 10/1 (1917), 168, No. 83; *PIR*², IV 3, No. 168; Halfmann, *Die Senatoren*, 133, No. 37.
 47. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 10. A similar instance of a tomb in a library is attested in connection with the initiative of the orator Dio Chrysostom, who buried his wife and son in the courtyard of the library at Prusa (Pliny the Younger, *Epist.* x.81).
 48. Numerous inscriptions were found in the course of the excavations: the most complete was the dedicatory inscription, which was published by M. Heberdey in *ÖJh* 7 (1904) 67. See also Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 39 (1984) 313-334.
 49. See A. Stein, 'Claudius Aristion', in *RE* 3/2 (1899), 2675, No. 54; *PIR*², II, No. 788. Aristion is mentioned by Pliny (*Epist.* vi.31). According to the inscription, Aquila's heirs saw to the completion of the library and the project was overseen by Tiberius Claudius Aristion when he was governor of the province of Asia for the third time.
 50. M. Strocka made a study of the Library of Celsus in the 1970s and his proposals were used as the basis for the reconstruction of its façade, which now dominates the Street of the Curetes (the Embolos). See M. Strocka, 'Die Bibliothek des Celsus. Ein Prachtbau in Ephesos und das Problem ihrer Wiederaufrichtung', in *Antike Welt* 6 (1975), 3-14. More generally, see Tønsgaard, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 89-94; Elżbieta Makowiecka, *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of Roman Library*, Warsaw, 1978, 62-66; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 11-24; W. Hoepfner, 'Die Celsus-Bibliothek in Ephesos. Eine Kaiserzeitliche Bibliothek mit zentralen Lesesaal', in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Antike Bibliotheken*, Mainz, 2002, 123-126.
 51. The use of *aediculae* as an architectural feature was extremely popular in the imperial period. They were used not only in the façades of buildings but in various other structures as well, such as fountain-

- houses, imperial halls and the entrances to public baths: see pp. 357, 359.
52. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 9-10.
 53. Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche...', *RAL* 39 (1984) 333.
 54. See Rossana Maccanico, 'Ginnasi Romani ad Efeso', *Archivio Classico* 15 (1963) 31-60.
 55. See W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum...*, Leipzig, 1915-1924³, No. 824. On the character of the library see P. Foucart, *Mémoire sur les ruines et l'histoire de Delphes*, Paris, 1865, 109; R. Weil, 'Kleine Mitteilungen', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 21 (1904) 459; C. Wescher, *Étude sur le monument bilingue de Delphes*, Paris, 1868, 167; Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 3; J. Jannoray, 'Le Gymnase', in *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, Paris, 1953, 84 (n. 1).
 56. See Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche...', *RAL* 39 (1984) 311-312.
 57. Hadrian is the subject of numerous books and articles covering every aspect of his governance and his other activities. In Marguerite Yourcenar's inspired book, now a classic, entitled *Memoirs of Hadrian* (Greek edition, Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀπομνημονεύματα, tr. Ioanna D. Hadjinikoli, Athens, 1995¹¹, 377-395), there is a valuable appraisal of the bibliography on Hadrian up to the date of the French edition (1972). Since then, of course, the literature on the subject has expanded apace. See esp. Mary T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton, 2003³, 196-203; A. R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, London/New York, 1997.
 58. On the word *Graeculus* and the various senses in which it was used, see N. Petrocheilos, *Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Ἑλληνισμός*, Athens, 1984, 23-35, 50-56.
 59. Flavius Sosipater Charisius, a grammari-
an from North Africa who was active in the fourth century A.D., wrote a grammar textbook (*Ars grammatica*) which he dedicated to his son. Perhaps he himself lacked research skills and had no depth of knowledge, and that was why he limited himself to quoting from earlier grammarians such as Polemon, Cominianus and Julius Romanus. But he did acknowledge his sources, and for that reason alone his work is valuable.
 60. Photios, *Bibliotheca*, Heidelberg, H. Commelin, publ. by D. Hoeschel, 1601, p. 149: Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως μελέται διάφοροι εἰς τὸ μέτριον τοῦ λόγου ἀνηγμέναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδεῖς.
 61. See F. E. Brown, 'Hadrianic Architecture', in L. F. Sandler (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, New York, 1964, 55-58.
 62. See p. 337.
 63. On Herodes Atticus see esp. P. Graindor, *Un milliardaire antique. Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, Cairo, 1930; H. C. Rutledge, *Herodes Atticus* (doctoral dissertation), Ohio, 1960; Jennifer Tobin, *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens: Patronage and conflict under the Antonines*, Amsterdam, 1997.
 64. On his activities in the Second Sophistic see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1969, 92-100.
 65. See P. Graindor, *Un milliardaire*, 55-70.
 66. Gell., *Noct. Att.* 1.2.1-2. When Gellius was studying in Athens – along with many other Romans who had gone to Greece in quest of culture (*ad capiendum ingenii cultum*) – Herodes often invited him to his villa at Cephisia in company with the honourable Servilianus (Q. Servilius Caepio) and others, for philosophical discussions. At one of these gatherings Herodes quoted from the first volume of Epictetus's *Diatribai* (*Dis-*

- courses) to refute the unsound views of a young adherent of the Stoic school (*Noct. Att.* 1.2.6-13).
67. Favorinus was born in the second or third century at Arelate (now Arles, in France). He studied under Dio Chrysostom (Dio of Prusa) and developed into one of the greatest exponents of the Second Sophistic. He was a most eloquent orator and gathered round him a circle of pupils who included Gellius and Alexander Peloplaton ('Clay-Plato'). Plutarch and Fronto were among his friends.
68. Although Favorinus, whom Gellius mentions frequently in *Noctes Atticae*, was equally at home in Greek and in Latin, he chose to write in Greek. His books were very popular, partly because they were written in a style that was easy to understand and partly by virtue of their subject matter: lives of philosophers of the Classical period (*Memorabilia*), a 'Miscellany' (*Omnigena historia*) with the material arranged in separate entries, and perhaps an anthology of proverbs and sayings (*Gnomologica*).
69. Philostratus, *Vitae* 1.8.4; Graindor, *Un milliardaire*, 50.
70. See pp. 256 ff.
71. See G. Spyropoulos, *Drei Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik aus der Villa des Herodes Atticus zu Eva/Loukou*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Brussels/New York/Oxford/Vienna 2001, 33-35. G. Spyropoulos, who published the finds from the excavations, has told me what conclusions he has reached concerning the room used as a library and its function in relation to the nearby basilica, a subject that he discusses at greater length in a new book now in preparation; and I should like to take this opportunity to thank him again for sharing his thoughts with me. The title of the forthcoming book (in Greek)

is *The Villa of Herodes Atticus at Eva, Kynouria*.

72. Paus. 1.18.9.
73. Ael. Arist., *Panath.* XIII.306, ed. Dindorf. On Athens in Hadrian's reign, see Alkistis Spetsieri-Choremi, 'Urban Development and Monumental Buildings in Athens under Augustus and Hadrian', in *Athens: From the Classical Period to the Present Day*, New Castle, Delaware/Athens, 2003, 166-193.
74. For a reconstruction of Plato's Academy see W. Hoepfner, 'Platons Akademie. Eine neue Interpretation der Ruiner', in Hoepfner, *Antike Bibliotheken*, 56-62; Staikos, *The History of the Library*, I, 105-106, 278-279.

The original appearance of Hadrian's library has been reconstructed as far as possible following the restoration work undertaken since 1979 by Yannis Knithakis and Yanna Tinginaga and the research on the successive alterations and additions to the building carried out initially by Fani Mallouchou-Tufano and later by Alkistis Spetsieri-Choremi, whose researches continue to this day. The results of the project to improve the condition of this monument have recently been published by Yannis Knithakis and Yanna Tinginaga in their article «Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ. Ἐνα "ἄγνωστο" μνημεῖο στὴν καρδιὰ τῆς Ἀθήνας», *Ἀνθέμιον* 11 (July 2004) 5-16, with reconstruction drawings of the library room, the propylon and the façade.

As regards the extensive literature on the library and its significance as an imperial forum (in the opinion of some scholars), see esp. M. A. Sisson, 'The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens', *BSR* 11 (1929) 50-72 (Pls. XVII-XXVII); Y. Knithakis and Eleni Sympolidou, «Νέα στοιχεῖα διὰ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ», *ΑΔ* 124/1

- (1969) 107-117 (Pls. 54-57); Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 67-70; Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', 318-320; D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm. Archäologische Beiträge zur Neugestaltung Athens durch Hadrian*, Basel, 1990, 14-21; Arja Karivieri, 'The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens', in *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267-529*, ed. Paavo Castrén, Helsinki 1994, 89-113; Alkestis Spetsieri-Choremi, 'Library of Hadrian at Athens. Recent Finds', *Ostraka* 1 (1995) 137-147; and esp. Yanna Tinginaga, «'Η μεγάλη ανατολική αίθουσα της Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ (Βιβλιοστάσιο)», *ΑΔ* 54 (1999) 285-326 (Pls. 117-140). See also Spetsieri-Choremi, 'Urban Development', 166-193.
75. The façade of Hadrian's library is the only example in Greece of a free-standing frontal colonnade, a feature typical of the baroque Roman typology of the Empire. The only other instance of its use – in a more highly-developed form – as an architectural feature of a library building is to be found in the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, and perhaps also in the similar building at Carthage: see pp. 293-295.
76. See Tinginaga, «'Η μεγάλη ανατολική αίθουσα», 295 ff.
77. See Karivieri, 'The So-Called Library', 102-113; Maria Kazanaki-Lappa, 'Athens from Late Antiquity to the Turkish Conquest', in *Athens: From the Classical Period to the Present Day*, New Castle, Delaware/Athens, 2003, 200. On the archives see J. Travlos, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ», *PAE* 1950, 343-347; Id., «Τὸ τετράκογχο οἰκοδόμημα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ», in *Φίλια ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνᾶν*, I, Athens, 1986, 41-63.
78. Of the very extensive bibliography on Hadrian's villa at Tibur, the Villa Adriana, see esp.: F. Piranesi, *Pianta delle fabbriche esistenti nella villa Adriana*, Rome, 1781; V. Reina and V. Barbieri, 'Rilievo planimetrico ed altimetrico di Villa Adrian eseguito dagli allievi della Scuola di Roma nel 1905', *NS* 8 (1906) 313-317; H. Kähler, *Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli*, Berlin, 1950; J. A. Pinto, 'Giovanni Battista Piranesi's Plan of Hadrian's Villa', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 55 (1993) 63-84; W. L. MacDonald, 'Hadrian's Circles', *SHA* 43 (1993) 394-408.
79. See P. Ligorio, 'Descrittione della superba e magnificentissima Villa Tiburtina Hadriana', in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, ed. J. G. Graevians, 8.4, Leiden, 1723; P. Ligorio and F. Contini, *Pianta della Villa Tiburtina di Adriano Cesare*, Rome, 1751.
80. Gell., *Noct. Att.* IX.14.3.
81. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XIX.5.1-4.
82. For conjectural reconstruction drawings of the Greek and Latin libraries see Kähler, *Hadrian und seine Villa*, Pls. 2-4.
83. W. L. MacDonald maintains that Carlo Rainaldi's designs for the Church of Santa Maria at Campitelli, Rome (1663-1667) were influenced by Roman imperial buildings, and more specifically by Hadrian's so-called 'Greek library' at Tibur: see *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II: An Urban Appraisal*, New Haven/London, 1986, 225-229.
84. The reconstruction in the museum is not an exact copy of the room at Tibur, for many of its architectural and decorative features are modelled on features of the library in Trajan's Forum, for example the columns and column capitals and the base of the marble table (which can be seen in the Vatican Museum). See *Museo della Civiltà Romana. Catalogo*, Rome, 1982², 557-558.

85. On this particular library in Hadrian's villa see Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 76; Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', 313-315.
86. See H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*, Berlin, 1895, Pl. 8; Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 76.
87. See P. Gusman, *La villa impériale de Tibur*, Paris, 1904, 99 (Pl. 125); Birgitta Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium: A study on assembly-rooms in Roman palaces during the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.*, tr. Patrick Hort, Stockholm, 1963, 149.
88. See Winnefeld, *Die Villa*, Pl. 4; Gusman, *La villa*, 131 (Pl. 49), 167, 175, 260; S. Aurigemma, *La Villa Adriana*, Rome, 1961, 64-67.
89. See Sir H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: A Study in the Diffusion and Decay of Hellenism*, Oxford, 1948, 56, 76; E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, 136-159.
90. See M. I. Rostovtzeff, 'Roman Exploitation of Egypt in the First Century A.D.', *Journal of Economic and Business History* 1 (1929) 337.
91. See Posner, *Archives*, 152-153.
92. T. Rajak, 'Jewish Rights in the Greek Cities under Roman Rule: A New Approach', *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* 5 (1985) 19-35; P. Schäfer, 'The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', in J. J. Petuchowski and E. Fleischer (eds.), *Studies in Aggadah, Targum and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann*, Jerusalem, 1981, 74-94; and, more generally, Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities*, 196-203.
93. *PapOxy.*, III, No. 412; see also Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 97.
94. There is a reference in the *Historia Augusta* to Hadrian's friendly behaviour towards philosophers, grammarians and rhetoricians and to artists and men of letters in general – and even to astrologers. However, the only three who are mentioned by name are Epictetus and Avidius Heliodorus (of whom more below) and Favorinus of Arelate (Arles). Nor does that historian give the names of the teachers with whom Hadrian had discussions at the Museum in Alexandria, when he would ask them all sorts of questions and then give them the answers himself. See *Hist. Aug.: Hadrianus* XVI.10, XX.1-2.
95. *Hist. Aug.: Hadrianus* XI.3.
96. *IG XIV*, 1085. L. Julius Vestinus was the curator of a library in Rome and compiled (in Greek) an abridged version of the Lexicon of Pamphilus of Alexandria and lexicographical studies of the work of Demosthenes and other Attic orators.
97. *Hist. Aug.: Hadrianus* XVI.10; *PIR*², A 1405. Avidius Heliodorus was a Syrian orator, the father of the insurgent Avidius Cassius and a friend of Aelius Aristides: see A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Aegypten*, Bern, 1950, 73; Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 50-52.
98. Thanks to Perry's work on the subject, we now know more about the various versions of the legend of Secundus's personal philosophy: see B. E. Perry, *Secundus the Silent Philosopher* [Philological Monographs, 22], Ithaca, 1964, 92-100; Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 118-119.
99. See Evangelia Kambouri, «Δημόσιο κτίσμα τῶν ρωμαϊκῶν αὐτοκρατορικῶν χρόνων στὸ χῶρο τοῦ συγκροτήματος τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἀγορᾶς Θεσσαλονίκης», in *Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη*, I, Thessaloniki, 1985, 89-109. For more information on the exact site of the library and its relationship to the other buildings in the Roman forum, see Ch. Bakirdzis, «Περὶ τοῦ συγκροτήματος τῆς Ἀγορᾶς τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης», in *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία II*, Thessaloniki,

- 1977, 265; also, more generally, D. Pandermalis, «Μνημεῖα καὶ τέχνη κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς ρωμαιοκρατίας», in *Μακεδονία 4.000 χρόνια ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας καὶ πολιτισμοῦ*, ed. M. Sakellariou, Athens, 1982, 216; I. K. Sverkos, «Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη ὑπὸ τὴν κυριαρχία τῶν Ρωμαίων», *Θεσσαλονικέων Πόλις* 4 (2001) 91-102.
100. See G. Despinis, «Τὸ ἀντίγραφο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Medici τοῦ Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης», in *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία II*, 97.
101. See S. Pelekidis, «Ὁ τύπος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῶν Μεδίκων», *ΑΔ* 9 (1924-1925) 121.
102. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, vi.7.
103. On the rooms in Roman villas that were used for purposes connected with books, see W. Hoepfner, 'Bibliotheken in Wohnhäusern und Palästen', in Hoepfner, *Antike Bibliotheken*, 86-96, esp. 94-95 (on Pella). See also Ch. Makaronas and E. Yiouri, *Οἱ οἰκίες Ἀρπαγῆς τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ Διονύσου τῆς Πέλλας*, Athens, 1989, 153.
104. On the library at Dion see p. 270.
105. See Hoepfner, 'Bibliotheken in Wohnhäusern', 95.
106. See K. Reber, *Die klassischen und hellenistischen Wohnhäuser im Westquartier*, Lausanne, 1998, 53-55.
107. See pp. 245-246.
108. See J. Chamonard, *Le quartier du théâtre. Étude sur l'habitation délienne à l'époque hellénistique*, *Délos* 8 (1922-1924).
109. See M. Andronikos, Ch. Makaronas, N. Moutsopoulos and G. Bakalakis, *Τὸ Ἀνάκτορο τῆς Βεργίνας*, Athens, 1961, 17 and Pl. I; Hoepfner, 'Bibliotheken in Wohnhäusern', 94-95.
110. See D. Pandermalis, *Discovering Dion*, Athens, 2001, 152-203. This house, which may have belonged to the Epaphras or Epaphroditus family (*ibid.* 203), possessed other noteworthy features besides the mosaic of Dionysus, among them the four statues of seated philosophers discovered in 1987: they were portrayed in this position to convey the idea of deep thought, and each of them has a papyrus roll in his left hand. It is now thought that the statues of the philosophers may have been portraits of members of the owner's family (*ibid.* 173).
111. See D. Lypourlis, *Πῇγε νὰ ἐγκοιμηθεῖ στὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖο τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου*, Athens, 1992, 76.
112. See 'Vita Hippocratis', in *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, IV, ed. Soranus, 175.
113. See E. Kind, 'C. Stertinius Xenophon aus Kos', in *RE* (1929), 2450-2451.
114. See Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 65.
115. Tac., *Ann.* XII.67; Suet., *Divus Claudius* XLIV.2-3.
116. See R. Herzog, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über die koische Expedition im Jahre 1902', *JDAI* 18 (1903) 186-199; Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 39 (1984) 307, 309-311.
117. See C. Callmer, *Antike Bibliotheken* [Opuscula Archaeologica, III], Lund/Leipzig, 1944, 182-183.
118. See R. Herzog, *Kos, Ergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*, I, Berlin, 1932, 49-51; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 180-181.
119. See P. Kavvadias, *Τὸ Ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία τῶν ἀσθενῶν*, Athens, 1900, 157-158.
120. The library is marked on the site plan as K', ζ': see the plan in Kavvadias, *op. cit.* 304.
121. See *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 57 (No. 131) = *IG* IV, I², 456; also Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 39 (1984) 334-335.
122. See *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 33 (No. 5).
123. See p. 272.

124. See O. R. Deubner, *Das Asklepieion von Pergamon*, Berlin, 1938, esp. 40-43 (on the library); C. Wendel, 'Neues aus den alten Bibliotheken II', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 55 (1938) 641-649; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 78-83.
125. *AvP* VIII, 3 No. 38, Inv. 1936, 2, and 3 No. 6, Inv. 1930, 12. More generally, see C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, *AvP* VIII, 3, Berlin, 1969.
126. See Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 82-83.
127. See M. Waelkens, 'The 1992 Excavation Season. A Preliminary Report', in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome (eds.), *Sagalassos II: Report on the Third Excavation Campaign of 1992* [Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae, 6], Leuven, 1993, 13-31.
128. See Waelkens, 'The 1992 Excavation Season', 14; H. Devijver, 'The Inscriptions of the Neon-Library of Roman Sagalassos', in Waelkens and Poblome, *Sagalassos II*, 107-123. The facts stated in the inscriptions concerning the activities of the Severianus family could be a sort of family archive.
129. Romanization of the local people, the improvement of their social standing and the creation of a local 'Roman' aristocracy in the rural areas and capitals of the old independent states of the *Imperium Romanum* were specific policy objectives of the Roman emperors. By this means Rome multiplied her manpower and acquired new citizens able and willing to serve the vast empire in administrative positions. In Greek-speaking provinces the indigenous population had first been Hellenized before being Romanized: this was the case in Cappadocia, for example: see H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army I* [Mavors Roman Army Researches, 6], Amsterdam, 1989, 362.
130. See Waelkens, 'The 1992 Excavation Season', 14-15, 25, 28.
131. *Ibid.* 15, 27.
132. *Ibid.* 15.
133. *Ibid.* 15.
134. See M. Waelkens, E. Owens, A. Hasendonckx and B. Arikan, 'The Excavation at Sagalassos 1991', *Anatolian Studies* 42 (1992) 88.
135. See P. Collart, *Philippes. Ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine*, Paris, 1937.
136. See P. Collart, 'Inscriptions de Philippes (11)', *BCH* 58 (1933), No. 2 (Pls. 5-6); Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 39 (1984) 337-338.
137. See Callmer, *Antike Bibliotheken*, 179; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 87-88; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library...*, 41-43.
138. See P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, III/1, Paris, 1870, 399 (No. 1618), and III/5, Paris, 1876, 378 (No. 1618).
139. On the evidence supplied by this inscription for the existence of libraries at Halicarnassus, see Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 4; Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 18 (1963) 79-81.
140. *Ibid.* 80-81.
141. See A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero romano*, Rome, 1952, 37.
142. I have not found any further information about the identity of C. Julius Longianus: as far as I know, his name is not mentioned anywhere except in this inscription.
143. See E. Kalinka, 'Aus Bithynien und Ungegend', *ÖJh* 28 (1933) 57-58.
144. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calter, 'Monuments and Documents from Phrygia

- and Caria', in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, IV, Manchester, 1939, 38 (Pl. 19, No. 98); L. and J. Robert, *La Carie, Histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques*, II, Paris, 1954, 166 (No. 46); Burzachechi, 'Ricerche epigrafiche', *RAL* 39 (1984) 336-337.
145. See Robert, *La Carie*, 163 (No. 40).
146. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 4.
147. On the city and the archaeological finds from it, see A. Ballu, *Les ruines de Timgad*, 3 vols., Paris, 1897-1911; E. Boeswillwald, A. Ballu and M.R. Cagnat, *Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1905; Jean Lassus, *Visite à Timgad*, Algiers, 1969.
148. The inscription and the story of its discovery are described in Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 11. In Cagnat's opinion, the inscription is probably to be dated to the late third century.
149. Cf. MacDonald, *The Architecture*, II, 25-29.
150. The first conjectures concerning the design and function of the library building were put forward by Cagnat in 'Les bibliothèques', 10-16.
151. H. F. Pfeiffer's suggested reconstruction of the library was published in his paper 'The Roman Library at Timgad', *MAAR* 9 (1931) 157-165. See also Strocka, 'Römische Bibliotheken', 316-317; Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 86; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 106-109; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 31-40.
152. On the role of the library in one African city see M. Leglay, 'La vie intellectuelle d'une cité africaine des confins de l'Aurès', in *Hommages à L. Hermann*, Brussels, 1960, 485-495.
153. See p. 107.
154. Columella, I.1.13; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI-II.5.22. See also p. 107 herein.
155. See J. Deneauve, 'Le centre monumental de Carthage', in *IVe Colloque sur l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, 1988, 143-155.
156. See the model of the monumental city centre, reproduced in P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine... 1: Les monuments publics*, Paris, 2002², 374. On the Library of Celsus see p. 237 herein.
157. See Deneauve, 'Le centre monumental', 154.
158. Apul., *Flor.* XVIII.85.
159. Apul., *Apol.* 90.
160. Suet., *Divus Claudius* XLII.
161. See T. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*, Darmstadt, 1967, 45 ff.
162. See A. Beschtaouch, R. Hanoune and Y. Thébert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, Ecole Française de Rome 28, Rome, 1977, 100.
163. See M. Leglay, 'Une nouvelle bibliothèque municipale à Bulla Regia en Afrique proconsulaire', in *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne offerts à A. Tuilier*, Paris, 1988, 52-60.
164. *Ibid.* 57.
165. Pliny the Younger, *Epist.* IX.11.2.
166. See R. Naumann, *Der Quellbezirk von Nîmes*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1937; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, 70-72; P. Gros, 'L'Augusteum de Nîmes', *Rev. Arch. de Narbonnaise* 17 (1984) 123-134; V. W. Gans, 'Der Quellbezirk von Nîmes. Zur Datierung und zum Stil seiner Bauten', *RM* 97 (1990) 93-125; Gros, *L'architecture romaine.... 1: Les monuments publics*, 370-372.
167. See Lilian Balensiefen, 'Die Macht des Literatur. Über die Büchersammlung des Augustus auf dem Palatin', in Hoepfner, *Antike Bibliotheken*, 97-116.
168. See H. W. Henry, *The Basilica of Maxentius* (doctoral dissertation), Brown University, 1975; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 179-180.

169. See Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 166-167.
170. See Raisa Calza and E. Nash, *Ostia*, Florence, 1959, 86 ff., Pl. 52.
171. See A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side*, Berlin, 1963, 118; Johnson, *Hellenistic and Roman Library*, 176-177.
172. See C. Humann, 'Altertümer von Hierapolis', *JdI Erg*, Berlin, 1898, 10; Makowiecka, *Origin and Evolution*, 92-93.
173. See E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, Istanbul, 1978, 331-333.
174. See p. 339.
175. See S. S. Weinberg, *The Southeast Building, the Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House*, Princeton, 1960, 5 ff.
176. See M. Wellmann, *Marcellus von Side als Arzt*, Leipzig, 1934; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*, II, Hildesheim, 1983, No. 146.
177. See Cagnat, 'Les bibliothèques', 5.
178. See *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, ed. E. Kalinka, 11/2, 1930, 351; V. Nutton and L. V. Reppert-Bismarck, 'Heraclitus von Rhodiapolis', in *Der Neue Pauly*, 5 (1998), 386.

VII
LIBRARIES
IN THE
GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD



LIBRARIES IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

FROM THE PRESOCRATICS
TO THE END
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
(6th century B.C. - 4th century A.D.)



LIBRARIES IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD
FROM THE PRESOCRATICS TO THE END OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
(6th century B.C. - 4th century A.D.)

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* *KSI* = *The History of the Library in Western Civilization, I: From Minos to Cleopatra*, New Castle, Del./t Goy-Houten/Athens, 2004.

** *Bibl.* = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries: From Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. - A.D. 1600)*, New Castle, Del./London, 2000.

VIII

LIBRARY
ARCHITECTURE



LIBRARY ARCHITECTURE

The typology of Roman libraries, their decoration, equipment and library organization

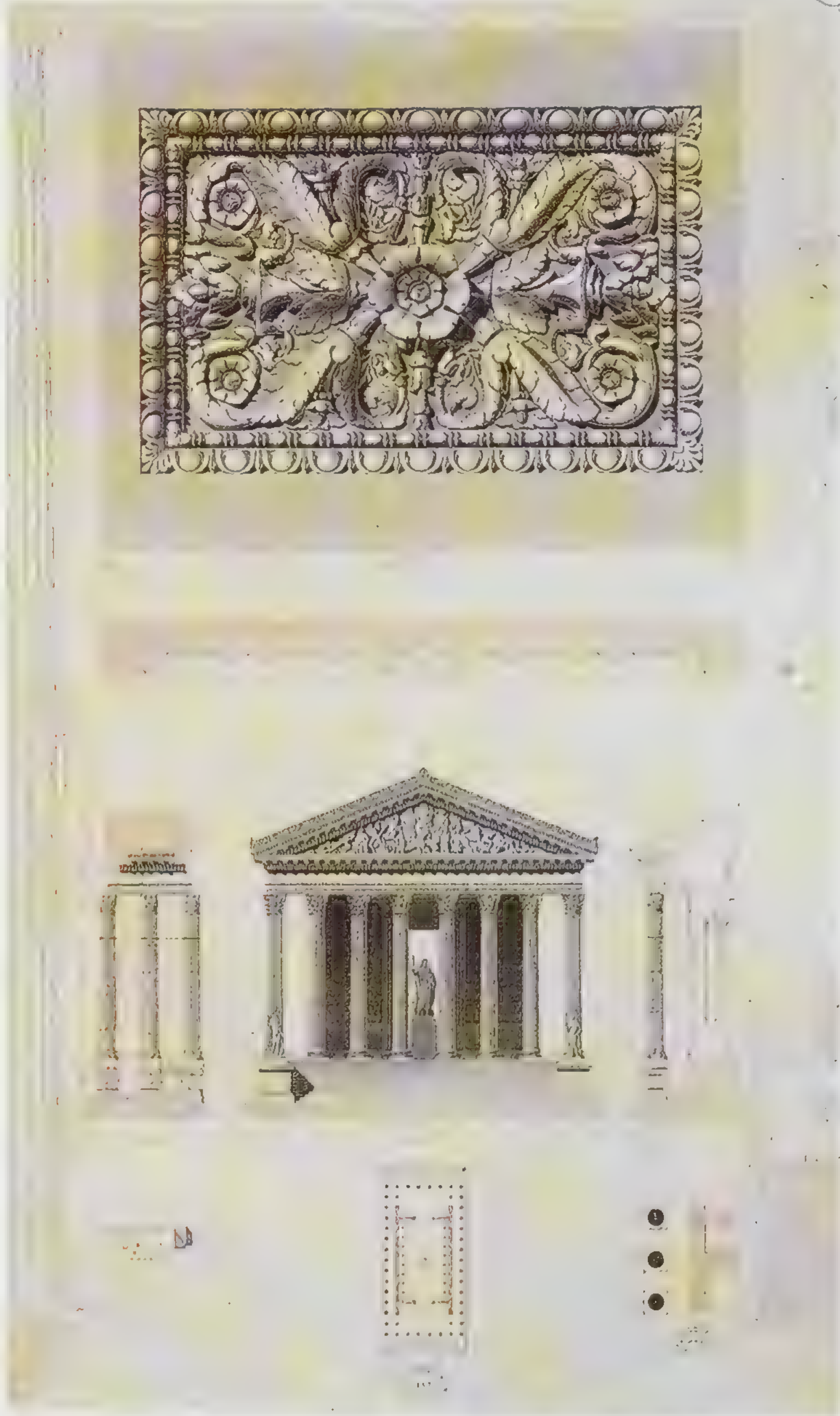
It need hardly be said that the work of designing a monumental library was entrusted to an architect (*architectus*); but many of the Hellenistic and Roman libraries mentioned in the preceding chapters were simply rooms that happened to be used for storing books and papers of all kinds and were not designed according to strict architectural criteria, while others were altered for the purpose. Designing a library of monumental dimensions was not a problem for Roman architects, as they had ‘studied’ architecture, so to speak, in the heyday of the great Hellenistic libraries at Pergamum, Alexandria and elsewhere in the Near East and North Africa. Moreover, at least from the early years of the Empire, there were architectural textbooks by Greek architects in circulation, suggesting solutions for all kinds of technical problems and laying down the fundamental principles for designing a monumental building and fitting it into the city plan. Curiously, not one of the original Greek architectural handbooks survives and the only later Roman work of the kind that has come down to us is *De architectura* by Vitruvius, written in the reign of Augustus.¹ So, before looking at library design in the Graeco-Roman world from the architectural viewpoint, it seems to me that we should first see what we know about the people involved in the discipline of architecture, the Greek foundations of that discipline and the theoretical training received by architects.

The antecedents of Roman architecture. In the first book of *De architectura*,² Vitruvius discusses the general education an architect needs in order to distinguish the intention from the matter used to express that intention, as well as the professional training necessary to enable him not only to handle the draughtsman’s stylus but also to put his ideas and opinions in writing, and thus to create a more solid infrastructure.

But what were the duties of an architect in the time of Augustus, when

1. *Reconstruction of the tabularium and other buildings at the foot of the Capitol, after Constant Moyaux. From Ruins of Ancient Rome, pp. 78-79.*

Rome was beginning to be transformed from a city of bricks to a city of marble, as Suetonius puts it?³ First and foremost, the architect is responsible for designing the building, selecting the most suitable site and, of course, deciding on its orientation. From a certain time onwards, Roman architects possessed the necessary technical skills and had been trained in geometric



2. Conjectural reconstruction and details of the Temple of Castor and Pollux (Jupiter Stator) drawn by Jean-Tilman-François Suys, 1816. From *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 80.

drawing, so they were able to produce detailed architectural drawings for their clients. Evidence dating from the middle of the first century B.C. attests to the existence of drawings and the practices that were in common use at the time. Cicero, for example, could not work out from the architect's drawings what his brother Quintus's villa would look like; Gellius, centuries later, states that drawings for a public bathing establishment had been posted up for public view; and Plutarch mentions open competitions for builders bidding for contracts for the construction of a city on the basis of drawings which they had submitted to the appropriate authorities.⁴ As regards the form of the drawings, in the first edition of *De architectura* Vitruvius included sketches and drawings of the three types that together constitute design: the ground plan (*ichnographia*), the elevation (*orthographia*) and the perspective drawing (*scaenographia*).⁵ He goes on to say that an architect's job was not over when he had completed the designs: he was also responsible for choosing the right site for each building, supervising the project at regular intervals and keeping a check on the con-

struction. The architect's job was not over when he had completed the designs: he was also responsible for choosing the right site for each building, supervising the project at regular intervals and keeping a check on the con-

struction costs, up to a point, to ensure that they did not overrun the budget.⁶

When Vitruvius set out to write his treatise on architecture there was no Latin textbook available for him to model it on, and all the indications are that he therefore resorted to the Greek literature on the subject. It should be mentioned, for the record, that just as the Romans borrowed material from the achievements of the Greeks in every branch of literature, so too they followed the same reliable course in providing instruction and guidance for those who wished to acquire technical and artistic training. Vitruvius records over a hundred names of Greek architects in the period from 650 to the mid first century B.C.⁷ Most of them are now no more than names; some are associated with particular buildings and monuments; and little is known about the origins, education, scholarly attainments, social standing or career of the others. But their work exerted a decisive influence on the theoretical and practical development of Roman architecture, as Vitruvius acknowledges, and the examples of their work in Rome and the eastern provinces give us some indication of the magnitude of their actual achievements.

In the preface to Book VII of *De architectura*, after assuring the Emperor that his work was not plagiarized,⁸ Vitruvius expresses his gratitude to all the writers who had over the centuries built up a valuable corpus of material now at everybody's disposal. And he takes the opportunity to mention Agatharchus's initiative of painting a stage set for one of Aeschylus's tragedies and subsequently writing a treatise on the subject.⁹ He then gives the names of the architects who had written textbooks specifying the standard proportions and special aesthetic of each order of architecture, the distinguishing artistic features of famous ancient sanctuaries and much more besides.¹⁰ One such writer was Silenus, who wrote a book on the proportions of the Doric order, and another was Arcesius, who recorded the proportions of the Corinthian order and the characteristic features of the Ionic order in the Asclepieum at Tralles. Vitruvius mentions similar treatises written by Chersiphron and Metagenes on the Ionic temple of Artemis at Ephesus, by Theodore of Phocaea on the Tholos at Delphi, and many others. Altogether he names fourteen architects whose textbooks on the proportions of the various orders and monographs on individual buildings had obviously been among the main sources for his own work. 'From their commentaries,' he acknowledges, 'I have taken and used whatever I considered relevant to the matters I am dealing with.' He goes on to explain that, in contrast to the great number of Greek monographs on architecture in circulation, there were very few Roman

works on the subject. One of those was the treatise by Fuficius,¹¹ the first person to publish such a book; another was the book on architecture in Varro's *Disciplinae* or *Artes liberales*.¹² However, no Roman up to that time had written a complete book on architecture.

Two Greek architects in Rome: Hermogenes and Hermodorus. It may be that the principal sources used by Vitruvius in writing *De architectura* were the 'editions' of Hermogenes, a Greek architect active in the Near East in the Hellenistic period (between 250 and 150 B.C.).¹³ The Roman architectural



3. The Temple of Hercules Victor on the banks of the Tiber, attributed to the architect Hermodorus of Salamis, mid 2nd c. B.C.

historian mentions Hermogenes as the author of a treatise on the temples of Artemis at Magnesia and of Dionysus at Teos: indeed, he considers him a model for every Roman intending to make a career as an architect.¹⁴ Another Greek architect who directly influenced Vitruvius and played an important role in the development of Roman architecture by introducing the entire Greek architectural tradition to Rome was Hermodorus of Salamis.¹⁵ Vitruvius men-

tions him as the architect who was commissioned by Metellus Macedonicus (ca. 143 B.C.)¹⁶ to design the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which adjoined the so-called Porticus of Metellus and was the first marble temple in Rome.¹⁷ Hermodorus may eventually have gone to live in Rome, where he was highly sought-after in aristocratic circles, at the urging and invitation of Metellus, who was one of the prime movers in the introduction of Greek art into Rome. With his knowledge and his prestigious standing, Hermodorus created an 'architectural discipline' which was respected for hundreds of years by all who followed the profession of *architectus*.

The earliest known Roman architects. Of the architects active up to his own time – Romans or freedmen – Vitruvius names four to whom specific buildings were attributed either by common knowledge or from written records: Cossutius, Mucius, Cornelius and himself.

Decimus Cossutius, a Roman citizen, was active in the mid second century B.C. It is not known where he acquired his professional training,¹⁸ but he may have been related to other architects and builders of the same name who worked in Campania and at Puteoli.¹⁹ For one reason or another – either because of his innate talent or because he had the right connections – he of all Greek architects, curiously enough, was chosen by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the pro-Roman king of Syria, to complete the construction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.²⁰

Vitruvius refers to Mucius²¹ without mentioning his *praenomen*, Gnaeus, which suggests that he was famous in his day; and this has left the field wide open for historians trying to establish a connection between him and the Mucius family, sometimes even with K. Mucius Scaevola himself.²² Be that as it may, Gnaeus Mucius was immortalized as an architect by the Temple of Honour and Virtue, a peripteral temple near the Mariana (the Monument of Marius).²³ Vitruvius considers that if the temple had been made of marble it would have been one of the most splendid buildings ever constructed.

At the beginning of the first century A.D. a stronger sense of professionalism came into being in the various technical vocations, and so the discipline of architecture acquired greater substance. This picture is reflected in the careers of the two most famous architects of that period, Cornelius and Vitruvius, and in the work of a large number of architects and structural engineers mentioned in Cicero's correspondence. Indeed, there are frequent references in those letters to aristocrats building country homes for themselves: the number

of villas in the region south of Rome rose at an exponential rate from the time of Lucullus onwards.²⁴

The first Roman to work as a professional architect in the first century B.C., according to the sources, was Lucius Cornelius, the son of Lucius, who is mentioned in an inscription dated to between 65 and 35 B.C.²⁵ A member of the Veturian tribe, he succeeded through his knowledge and talent in rising to one of the highest positions in the Roman administration: that of *praefectus fabrum* and *architectus*, during the consulship of Quintus Lutatius Catulus, and again when Catulus held the office of censor. Catulus²⁶ was associated with two extremely important public building projects carried out in Rome in the first half of the first century B.C.: the construction of the *tabularium* (public record office: *circa* 78 B.C.) and the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, which was completed in 62 B.C.²⁷ For the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter, which took place during the years of Sulla's dictatorship, column capitals were used which had been removed from the temple of Zeus in Athens and transported to Rome. Cornelius, who may have been granted the title of *architectus* in about 60 B.C. after successfully completing the *tabularium* project, was probably in charge of the reconstruction of the temple on the Capitol to repair the extensive damage done by a fire in July, 83 B.C. The case of Lucius Cornelius provides documentary evidence of the professional career of an architect who received commissions from a prominent Roman nobleman who was also a politician.

As already mentioned, a good deal of information about other architects besides Cornelius is provided by Cicero's voluminous correspondence with Atticus and other friends of his. It is worth reminding ourselves that Cicero himself had at least seven villas as well as a luxurious house in Rome, and that he frequently asked Atticus to supply him with valuable statues and other works of art from workshops in Corinth.²⁸ The two most important architects mentioned by Cicero, both probably of Greek descent, worked primarily in the private sector. The first, referred to as Cyrus [Vettius?], is known to have been a Greek speaker: he was of independent means and was able to choose his clients.²⁹ Nothing is known about his social status: he may have been a freedman, though his wealth and way of life suggest that he was probably a *peregrinus* (resident alien).³⁰ He is referred to as the architect of Quintus Cicero's villa and was criticized by Atticus for having designed it with large windows, his object in doing so being to provide a better view of the surrounding countryside and also, presumably, to allow more light into the rooms.³¹ Cyrus may also have

drawn the designs for Clodius Pulcher's excessively grand villa, which Pliny the Elder compared to 'the monstrous follies of kings'.³² This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, for reasons unknown, Cicero and Clodius were not only the witnesses of Cyrus's will but also his heirs. The second architect is named as Chrysippus Vettius: he was a freedman and is believed to have worked in Cyrus's firm of architects. Cicero mentions him in connection with a letter he brought from Trebatius in 53 B.C., when Caesar was waging war in Gaul and Trebatius was serving there.³³

Vitruvius and other architects in Augustus's reign. From the earliest years of the Empire we have far more, and far better documented, information concerning architecture as a profession and the techniques they used. This is in large part due to Vitruvius, who preserved a great mass of data about all sorts of subjects relating to building construction which would otherwise be at best a matter of guesswork. But let us first look at the few known facts about Vitruvius's life, as recorded in his own work.

Vitruvius states that his family was able to give him the sort of education enjoyed by any self-respecting Roman citizen, comparable to that of Horace, and that he did not throw away the opportunities thus given to him.³⁴ He first took up soldiering and served under Julius Caesar (probably about 49 B.C.). After Caesar's death in 44 B.C., by which time he had become friendly with Octavian, he was appointed to supervise the construction and repair of siege engines, and he retained this position after winning the support of Augustus's sister, Octavia. He left the army as a *veteranus* in about 29 B.C. and was commissioned to design what is perhaps the only building bearing his name: a basilica at Colonia Julia Fanum Fortunae, a city founded by Octavian.³⁵ When he started writing the preface to the first book of *De architectura* he was probably no longer working as an architect, and in all probability the first four books were written before 27 B.C. It took him about ten years to finish all ten books and the complete work was almost certainly published in about 17 B.C. Thereafter no more is heard of him, and there is no evidence whatever as to the date of his death.

With the publication of *De architectura* one might expect that we would know more about the men who were instrumental in carrying out the enormous planning and building projects put in hand by Augustus, which included the Forum, the Temple of Mars Ultor, the Mausoleum and the bilingual library on the Palatine Hill, to name only a few. Yet only one architect's

Vitruvius's
qualifications for writing
'*De architectura*'

name stands out with any clarity in the Augustan Age: Lucius Cocceius Auctus, whose cognomen Auctus suggests that he was probably Greek.³⁶ His architectural qualifications are recorded in two inscriptions, one at Puteoli and one at Comum, which also specify his social and professional status.³⁷ This



4. Callimachus drawing inspiration from nature for the design of the column capitals of the Corinthian order, as imagined by Roland Fréart de Chambray (1650).

architect and engineer – if he is to be identified with the person mentioned by Strabo – was a freedman who won a high reputation and enjoyed an extremely successful career, probably helped by the fact that he had good connections with L. Cocceius Nerva.³⁸ On Nerva's death, Auctus associated himself professionally with a Roman citizen, the architect C. Postumius Pollio: they may have formed some kind of partnership to run an architecture and construction firm together.³⁹

The names of some architects of the Augustan Age are known from passing references and from the writings of Pliny the Elder. The best documented particulars are those relating to the architectural practice of Titus Vettius, who is men-

tioned as an *architectus* specializing in the construction of public stoas, as we are informed by an inscription of 43 B.C. found at Grumentum.⁴⁰ Pliny refers to an architect named Valerius of Ostia, who designed a cover for a theatre in Rome for the public games celebrated by Libo, apparently in the time of Agrippa.⁴¹ Pliny, again, is our only source for the names – presumably nick-

names – of two architects associated with the temples enclosed by the Porticus of Octavia, that is the Temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. He tells us that these two architects were Lacedaemonians(!) from Sparta and gives their names as Saura ('Lizard') and Batrachus ('Frog').⁴² Whether these facetious names were intended as barbs against two architects who spared no effort to have their names inscribed on the Augustan monuments on the Palatine and thus win places for themselves in the eternal hall of fame is a matter of conjecture; and even the very existence of these men is open to doubt, as it is not corroborated by any other evidence.

Architects under the Empire. From the first years of the Christian era, we have very much more information about the *architecti* and their names are directly associated with specific planning and architectural projects initiated by the great 'builder' emperors, notably Nero (A.D. 54-68), Domitian (81-96), Trajan (98-117) and Hadrian (117-138). These architects held permanent positions in the imperial civil service, working in one department or another depending on their specialization: besides designing buildings, for example, some were responsible for ensuring uninterrupted water supplies for Rome, others (the *curatores viarum*) for the repair and maintenance of the roads. Extant inscriptions show that the imperial household (*familia*) included *architecti* (slaves and freedmen) who were often employed in carrying out building programmes outside Rome as well as in the capital. We also know from the same sources that architects were summoned to Rome from the farthest corners of the Empire to serve in the imperial administration. In the following paragraphs we shall be looking at a select few whose names are associated with large-scale imperial planning projects and architectural monuments, and at their relations with their patrons.

Severus and Celer in the service of Nero. The planning and execution of Nero's ambitious project of having his dream palace built for him in Rome were entrusted to two architects, Severus and Celer. The construction of the palace – known as the Domus Aureus (Golden House) – involved major replanning, especially on the Palatine, since the great drive to bring the countryside into the town (*rus in urbe*) had necessitated large-scale alterations to the city plan which would in any case have been desirable in the aftermath of the devastating fire of 64 B.C.

Tacitus, who has preserved the names of these two technical experts

responsible for the planning and construction of the Domus Aureus, implies that they had different specializations.⁴³ Severus was the architect and planner and, in MacDonald's view, must have had some expertise in landscape gardening,⁴⁴ while Celer devised the mechanical and plumbing installations which later historians marvelled at. Whatever the truth of the matter, it may be that Severus's great talent, comprehensive training and breadth of learning won him the sought-after position of 'doctor of architecture', in which he would have been responsible for the replanning of Rome and the overall supervision of the project. Although our information about Severus as a person is very fragmentary, he does stand out as the first great name in Roman architecture and he represents the beginnings of imperial architecture.

Rabirius, Domitian's architect. Equally scant references are found in the sources to Rabirius, the brilliant architect in charge of the architecture and city planning for the programme which was initiated by Emperor Domitian (81-96) but never completed. The poet Martial, who always went to great lengths to please and flatter the Emperor, wrote two epigrams in which he praised Rabirius and his achievements and went so far as to compare the palace on the Palatine with the star-studded heavens.⁴⁵ There can be no doubt that the building programme for the Palatine Hill in Domitian's reign bears the signature of Rabirius, and, as we shall see, he should also be credited with the rebuilding of Augustus's bilingual library.⁴⁶ This being so, there is a case for attributing to Rabirius all the grand monumental buildings of Domitian's reign, which is a possibility but not proven.⁴⁷

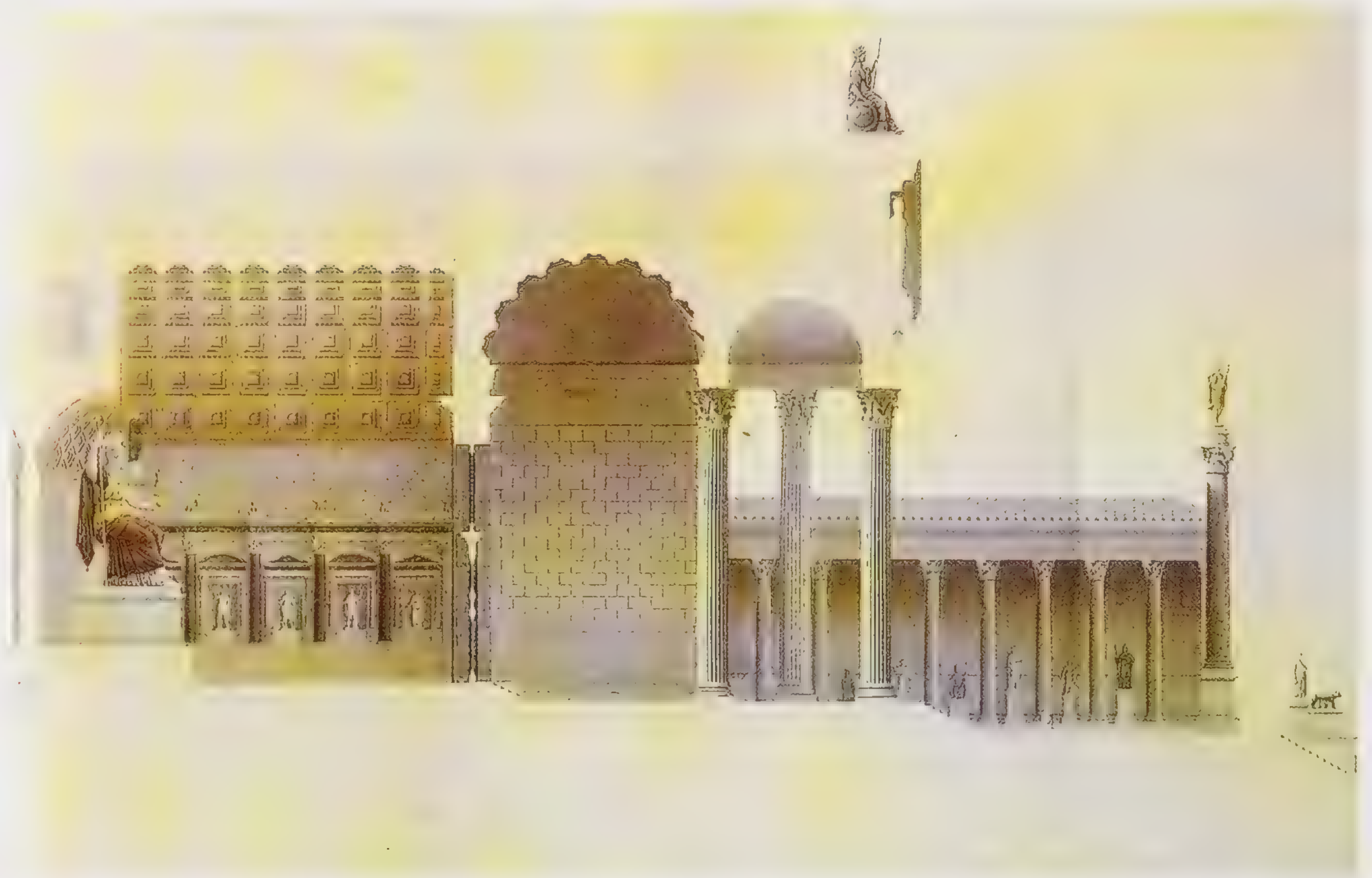
It is clear that Domitian conceived a rebuilding programme which, when completed, would transform the historic centre of Rome, and that he probably commissioned Rabirius to carry the programme through. It is known that Rabirius designed the Forum Transitorium (Forum of Nerva), the rebuilt Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, the rebuilt Temple of Venus Genetrix, part at least of the Forum Julium (Forum Caesaris) and the Emperor's magnificent villa on the shores of the Lacus Albanus.⁴⁸ The ruins of these buildings provide ample proof of the excellence of his artistic and technical ideas and his general erudition. Nothing more is heard of him after Domitian's assassination in 96, but most probably he did finish work on the Forum Transitorium and the Temple of Venus, which Nerva officially opened the following year. It is highly improbable that he was replaced as *magister architectus* in 98, soon after Trajan's accession to the throne.

The influence of Apollodorus of Damascus. Apollodorus of Damascus had the good fortune not only to gain recognition for his good work in his lifetime, as were other architects working under Nero and Domitian, but also to win fame throughout the Empire – a fame that was to remain alive until the end of the ancient era.⁴⁹ What is more, he was the only one privileged to serve under two great emperors, even though that very fact may have led to his death. Apollodorus is first heard of on Trajan's campaign in Dacia, where he succeeded in realizing the Emperor's ambition of building a bridge over the Danube: his achievement is vividly described by Procopius.⁵⁰ Quite possibly he published the technical specifications of this great project, thus furthering his career and at the same time making a valuable addition to the literature on the subject, given that Vitruvius's great work had not had the impact expected of it. On his return to Rome, Trajan probably appointed Apollodorus to the post that Rabirius had held under Domitian; and although practically nothing was done about replanning and rebuilding the city before 104, in that year it was decided that many of the projects left unfinished on Domitian's death would be revived, revised and brought to completion.⁵¹ Apollodorus's name was associated with nearly all the architectural projects carried out in Trajan's reign, sometimes working to his own designs, sometimes as overall project supervisor and sometimes perhaps simply as adviser. In particular, two great public building complexes are attributed to him: Trajan's Forum and Trajan's Baths. Although it is possible that some work on these projects may have been done before Trajan's accession, Apollodorus certainly left the indelible imprint of his architectural genius on both of them.⁵² The distinctive features of his design philosophy link him with the beginnings of Roman baroque architecture and his work is, in a way, a continuation of the Graeco-Roman tradition instituted by Hermogenes and Hermodorus.

Apollodorus evidently retained his position as imperial *magister architectus* for some years after Hadrian's accession in 117, for the *Historia Augusta* records specific projects on which he and the new emperor worked together.⁵³ However, Hadrian's amateur interest in architecture, which developed into a full-time obsession, brought him into open conflict with Apollodorus. The latter, as Dio Cassius informs us in his classic account, was unwilling to tone down his opinions of an architectural design even when it was the work of the Emperor himself, and Hadrian was so enraged that he first banished Apollodorus and later put him to death.⁵⁴

*A great architect
from the East
in Trajan's service*

An architect emperor. Considering how very little we know about the architects of the imperial period, the implication being that the emperors wished to keep for themselves all the glory of their monumental restoration of Rome, it is not difficult to imagine how little we are likely to know about the architects and engineers who assisted Hadrian with his huge projects; for Hadrian was an emperor who strongly believed that he himself possessed all the talent and ability of a great architect.⁵⁵ Dio Cassius states in the well-known passage in his history that Hadrian liked to experiment by putting different architectural orders together for the sake of innovation, and that he



5. *Partial section of the Temple of Venus and Roma drawn by Léon Vandyer (1830). From Ruins of Ancient Rome, p. 91.*

was capable of preparing all the plans and designs even for buildings of imposing proportions.⁵⁶ The ruins of his famed villa at Tibur (Tivoli) provide the outstanding example of his creativity and his desire to rewrite the dictionary of architecture, by drawing his material chiefly from the Classical and Hellenistic tradition.⁵⁷ As far as the city of Rome is concerned, the sources mention the Pantheon, the Temple of Venus and Roma, the Temple of the Deified Trajan and many other buildings among his marvellous achievements. However, the only incontrovertible evidence of work attributable to Hadrian himself is in the Temple of Venus and Roma.

In the whole of Hadrian's reign no architects are mentioned in connection with any specific project apart from a certain Decrianus, who collaborated with the Emperor on the plans for the relocation of the statue of the Colossus to make room for the Temple of Venus and Roma.⁵⁸

From the time of Hadrian's death in 138 to the accession of Justinian the Great, few architects' names have come down to us: a freedman named Cleander is said to have built the Baths of Commodus (180-192)⁵⁹ and a certain Pericles of Mylasa was commissioned by Maxentius to redesign and restore the Temple of Venus and Roma, originally designed by Hadrian.⁶⁰ Another very interesting item of evidence comes from a papyrus fragment which states that Sextus Julius Africanus was commissioned by Alexander Severus to design a library in the Pantheon, near the Baths of Severus: ... ἐν Ρώμῃ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θερμαῖς ἐν τῇ ἐν Πανθέῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ καλῇ... ἀρχιτεκτόνησα τῷ Σεβαστῷ.⁶¹ Since the end of the nineteenth century this passage has given rise to much controversy over the location of the library, as the finds from a building south of the Pantheon have been widely interpreted as indicating that that was the library in question.⁶²

Architects
under Hadrian

Fundamental rules of library design. As for any branch of architecture, so for the design of any library – whether a monumental building or a small one – there must have been textbooks laying down the fundamental parameters and rules to be followed by an architect designing a building or room intended for the storage of papyrus rolls. As far as I know, no Greek architect's name is associated with a library: the most one can say is that Artemon of Cassandreia may have included some of the principles of library design in his two specialized books, *Collection of Books* and *The Uses of Books*.⁶³ Certainly Varro must have dealt with the basic requirements of library design, both in *De bibliothecis* and in the book on architecture in his *Artes liberales*.⁶⁴ Be that as it may, the books themselves – those fragile 'artistic' treasures that architects were called upon to protect from natural and climatic change – were subject, above all, to an inviolable law relating to local environmental conditions and the orientation and lighting of the building. It goes without saying that although the architects and those to whom books were important were well aware of these fundamental rules, they were not always given a free hand to apply them as they saw fit. Sometimes this was because a monumental library was planned to be built in a particular part of a city to suit the donor's purse or fit in functionally with older buildings; sometimes the library was part of

The anonymity
of library architects

a larger, multi-purpose complex, and sometimes they were existing rooms converted from some other purpose.

Principles of book protection in libraries. The worst enemies of a papyrus roll, and of other books as well, are humidity and exposure to the sun's rays or any other bright indirect light, which has a destructive effect on written documents.⁶⁵ Consequently it was a matter of the greatest importance to orient a library correctly and, above all, to protect it from draughts entering through doors or through fanlights with or without window panes. The entrance into the library had to be on the east, to admit a pre-dawn breeze that dispels the damp and to allow into the library just the right amount of light for reading, annotating and copying without doing any harm to the books. The front of the library should not face on to a main road running parallel to the line of the local prevailing winds, so as to avoid the harmful effects of moisture and airborne particles of one kind or another. So, even when architects were not free to insist that a library was to be built on a specific site of their own choosing, they still had to adapt the design of the building and the orientation of its façade to suit the configuration of the site available.

Illumination for the interior of the library came from the doorways, fanlights and windows at the front of the building. As a general rule there were no openings at all in the side walls (where the bookcases were usually ranged) in accordance with the usual principles of temple construction. The front doors, which provided ventilation for the library as well as some of the illumination, were protected either by stoas, roofed porticoes or courtyards. From the first century A.D., it was standard practice for libraries in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire to have fanlights in their front walls, framed by cornices which also provided protection from the elements.⁶⁶ However, the presence of windows in the façades and side walls of monumental libraries in Rome (such as the bilingual library in Trajan's Forum) is purely conjectural.⁶⁷ This being so, we have to presume that the principal lighting, making it possible for the library to function properly as a reading room and copying centre, was artificial, namely oil lamps. The same was probably true of the auxiliary rooms on either side of the main library hall, which were used as copying rooms: from an architectural point of view, this would rule out the possible existence of 'light wells' in the walls.

The big problem with libraries, especially those that were not part of large building complexes, was that of protecting them against damp,⁶⁸ which pene-

trated in various ways: sometimes in the air, sometimes through the side walls because of inadequate insulation, sometimes rising from the foundations and affecting the floor, wall fittings and ceiling, and sometimes seeping in through the masonry when floodwaters poured into the ground floor, especially if the library was built on a slope. Techniques for keeping the damp out did exist, of course: one such was the use of mortar made with crushed potsherds instead of sand, and another was the construction of protective walls as a safeguard against emergencies. These were internal walls running parallel to the outer wall to form a passage (*peristasis*) whose width varied to suit the particular circumstances of each library: the *peristasis* served both as an insulating space and when necessary as a drain, for its floor was lower than the library floor and it had an outlet to discharge the water outside the building. These *peristaseis* were necessary not only to deal with the problem of damp inside the building but also to provide a protective shield isolating the library from neighbouring buildings and the streets and alleys outside, which could turn into torrents in a heavy rainstorm. We are fortunate enough to have the text of an inscription recording the planning regulations laid down by the magistrates in charge of the streets and public buildings:

*The problem of damp
and how to prevent it*

“Ὅσοι δὲ τοῖχοι πρόσχωροι ὄντες βλάπτουσιν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰὰν βούλωνται αὐτοῖς οἱ κύριοι ὑπαίθροις οὖσιν τὰς πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας περιστάσεις ποιεῖν, μηθὲν βλάπτοντες τοὺς γείτονας, μὴ κωλύεσθωσαν ποιεῖν τὸ πλάτος μὴ πλείον πῆχεως καὶ στεγάζοντες αὐτὰς παραχρῆμα γείσεις λιθίνοις, τοῦ ἐκτὸς τοίχου τῆς περιστάσεως οἰκοδομηθέντος ἀσφαλῶς, εἰὰν μὴ πέτραι ἢ οὐ τὰ γείση ἐπιτεθήσεται. Μὴ ποιείτωσαν δ’ στεγάζοντες ὑψηλότερον τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπαίθρου πλὴν ὅσον ὕδατι ἀπόρρουν. Κύριοι δὲ ἔστωσαν τῶν μὲν περιστάσεων οἱ ποιήσαντες, τῶν δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τόπων, ὅταν στεγασθῶσιν, οἱ γείτονες εἰς μηθὲν χρώμενοι, ἐξ οὗ καταβλάωουσιν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοίχους. Ποιείτωσαν δὲ τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν περιστάσεων ἐκ τῶν ιδίων οἰκιῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀδύνατον ᾖ κρείνοντος τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος μετὰ τῶν ἀστυνόμων, διδότησαν οἱ γείτονες τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις ἐνεκεν ἀνακαθάρσεως.”⁶⁹

As we have seen, similar passages were built to protect the Library of Celsus,⁷⁰ the Library of Melitene at the Asclepieum near Pergamum,⁷¹ the so-called library at Nîmes⁷² and what are known as ‘the Greek and Latin libraries of Hadrian’ at Tibur (Tivoli).⁷³

The large fanlights over library doors, especially in monumental libraries such as Hadrian's Library in Athens and the libraries in the fora and baths of Rome, left the premises insufficiently protected because they allowed moisture in; and it is not unlikely that their exposure to strong winds created a further risk of shortening the life of the materials of which the books were made. It goes without saying that there must have been unrestricted access to the fanlights, for practical reasons as much as anything else. Evidence for the existence of structures of this kind in the library at Thamugadi and the twin libraries in Trajan's Forum has been taken into account in the suggested reconstructions of those libraries by Pfeiffer (Thamugadi)⁷⁴ and by Gismondi and Burg and Packer (Trajan's Forum).⁷⁵ It seems unlikely that Apollodorus of Damascus – who had the foresight to protect his libraries partly by sheltering them behind the bulk of the Bibliotheca Ulpia and partly by setting them to face each other and shielding their front doors with porticoes, which lessened the impact of the strong winds and sheltered them from the rain – would have left the due-north-facing wall exposed to the elements by giving it large windows. In no other monumental library can it even be suggested that large windows existed in the façade, with the exception of the libraries in the Baths of Nero, Trajan and perhaps Diocletian; and the architecture of those three was governed by a different design philosophy and intended for different purposes, as we shall see.

The two semicircular buildings facing the gymnasium area in the Baths of Nero, one on each side of the central axis, may quite possibly have been twin libraries (one Latin and one Greek), but that is pure conjecture and there is no evidence to corroborate it.⁷⁶ The façade of each of those libraries is bounded by a range of columns *in antis* protected by a stoa, though nothing is known about the form of the colonnade above the top of the stoa. A similar architectural approach was adopted in the rooms earmarked for use as libraries in the Baths of Trajan and Diocletian: that is to say their façades, one facing east and the other west, were exposed to the heat and the air currents generated in the walled forecourt. These libraries, which were used not only for reading and study but also for lectures, public recitations and literary competitions, resembled auditoriums in form and were supplied with a good stock of books for bathers and aspiring writers.

The character of monumental libraries. There are two Classical and Hellenistic archaeological sites that can be taken as a reasonably safe basis for the description and reconstruction of ancient monumental libraries: the

Academy of Plato and the library of the Attalid kings at Pergamum, as discussed at length in the first volume of this work.⁷⁷ Architecturally the two bear no resemblance to each other: the predominant characteristic of the Academy is absolute symmetry, while the Pergamum library is an irregular cluster of buildings connected by stoas which appears to have developed at random with the temple-fronted main library building as its nucleus.⁷⁸ Plato's Academy is dominated by the main hall of the library, which was situated on the longitudinal axis of the complex and flanked by rooms opening on to a quadrangle surrounded by a *xystos* (a long, broad, covered colonnade).⁷⁹ This architectural conception served as the model for the design of the fora in Rome under the Empire and for Hadrian's Library in Athens.

Having Plato's Academy, the Pergamum library and also, of course, the Alexandrian Library as his models, some Greek or Roman architect was commissioned by C. Asinius Pollio to design Rome's first public library in about 41 B.C., three years after Julius Caesar's assassination. Vitruvius sheds no light on the matter: not only does he make no direct reference to this first public library, but he has nothing at all to say about the buildings where the public records were stored, namely the *tabularia*. This library, which Pollio had in running order soon after 39 B.C., as already mentioned,⁸⁰ was part of the rebuilt Atrium Libertatis where the censors' official archives were traditionally kept, as Livy informs us in his account of the censors' 'strike'.⁸¹ The exact site of the Atrium Libertatis is now believed to have been north-west of the Forum Julium (Forum Caesaris), behind the Temple of Venus on the embankment linking the Capitol and Palatine hills; in other words, it was an 'annexe' to Caesar's Forum.⁸² Any attempt to reconstruct the architecture of Pollio's library would have to rely heavily on the imagination, but we cannot rule out the possibility that Domitian's bilingual library on the Palatine – as marked on the *Forma Urbis Romae* – incorporated design features prescribed by Pollio for the library he donated to the Roman people, that is two separate but interconnected rooms which were reached through a protective stoa and must have been adjacent to the official record office (*tabularium*). Considering that forty thousand papyrus rolls are said to have been burnt in the royal warehouses in the port of Alexandria during the hostilities occasioned by Caesar's siege of the city, and considering that those forty thousand rolls were to have formed the nucleus of the first public library in Rome, each room of the library must have been designed to hold at least twenty thousand rolls,⁸³ which would have required approximately twenty bookcases measuring about 1.20 x 2.00 metres.

*The Roman
typology of the
imperial library*

However, we should not suppose that the architects who designed Pollio's libraries, such as Cyrus and perhaps his former master Chrysippus Vettius, created a rather impersonal building, as we know that their interiors were decorated and enriched not only with bookcases but also with portraits of famous Romans, as we shall see.⁸⁴

The bilingual library of Augustus, Octavia and Domitian. As mentioned earlier, when Augustus was redeveloping the area of the Palatine Hill his plans included the construction of twin libraries there. Assuming that the surviving portion of the *Forma Urbis* shows those libraries as they were after being altered under Domitian, their original architectural form is not known.⁸⁵ Vitruvius, who was probably personally acquainted with the designer of the 'treasure-house' where his own book was sure to be kept, is again silent on this point. Propertius marvels at the riches of Augustus's library and writes admiringly about the area round the Temple of Apollo,⁸⁶ but apart from what can be gleaned from literary sources we have no evidence to use as a basis for reconstructing the library.

Equally meagre are the data at our disposal concerning the libraries in the so-called Porticus Octaviae, that is to say the libraries – probably twin Greek and Latin libraries – built on the orders of Augustus's sister, Octavia, to honour the memory of her son Marcellus, who died in 23 B.C.⁸⁷ A reconstruction of the Porticus Octaviae by Félix Duban gives an attractive picture of the whole complex, but much of it is misleading. It is true that the propylon and the symmetrical colonnades on either side of it were there in Octavia's lifetime, but in place of the two libraries Duban depicts the temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator, which were erected on the site of the libraries in Severus's reign, early in the third century A.D.⁸⁸

Nor is there any evidence to support the hypothesis that the architect who designed Domitian's libraries based his design on an architectural type dating from the time of Augustus. Given that Rabirius was responsible for the architecture and planning of the Palatine redevelopment, it is by no means unlikely that he was the architect of Domitian's twin libraries.⁸⁹ The city plan shown on the *Forma Urbis* makes it possible to talk of their architectural layout and their distinctive characteristics, which created a typology that was generally respected and followed by later architects of libraries in Rome and the provinces.

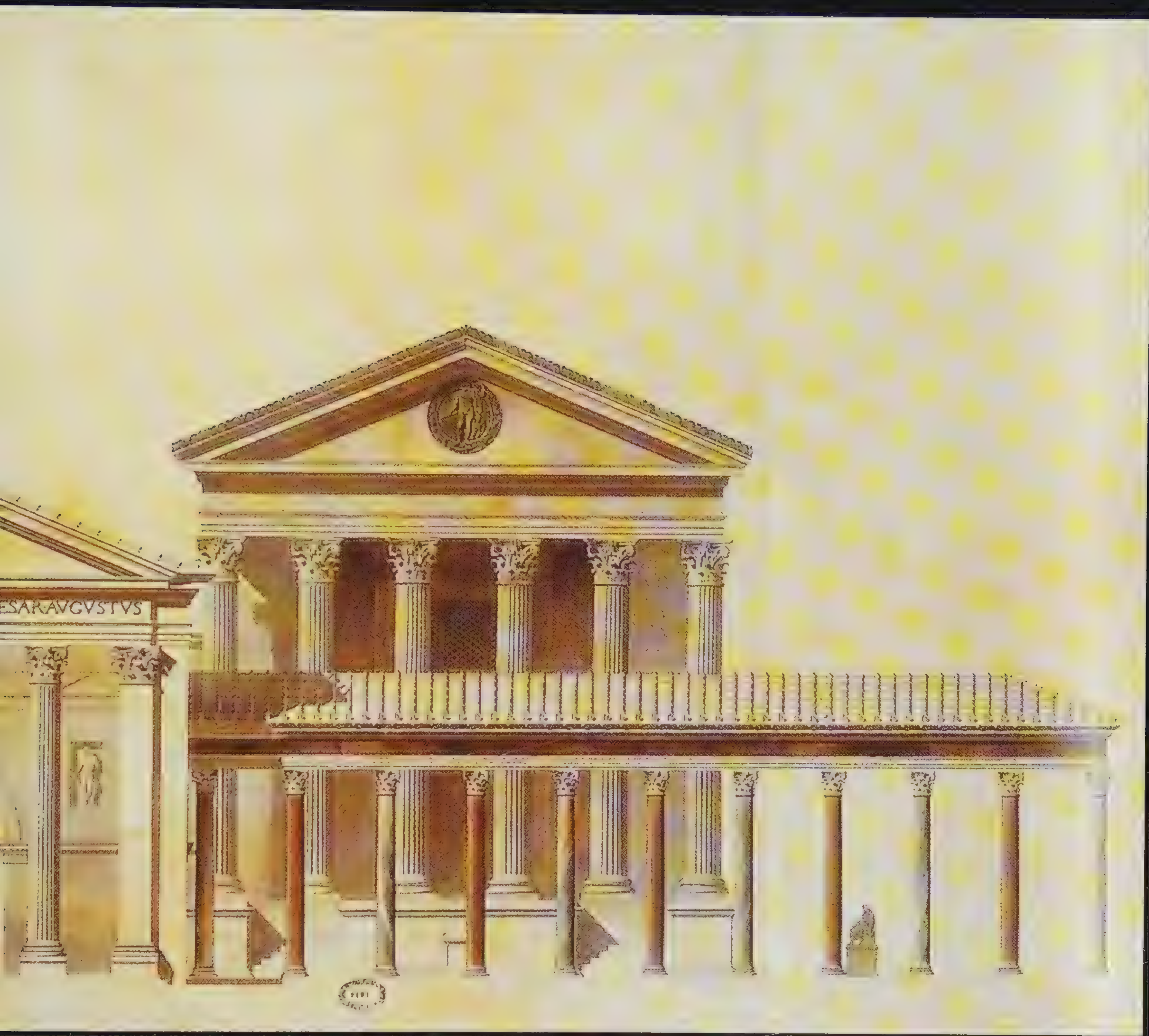
Close examination of the *Forma Urbis* reveals that Domitian's bilingual library consisted of twin rooms in a northeast-facing rectangular building, with

their front doors sheltered by a stoa. In the interior all was absolutely symmetrical. On either side of the doorway in each room was a colonnade running parallel to the side walls and terminating in a sort of cornice exactly in the middle of the back of the room, directly opposite the entrance. These two cornices presumably held the statues of Athena and perhaps Apollo in the Greek and Latin rooms respectively. For some unexplained reason the back wall with the cornice is slightly curved. The colonnade provided the main support for an upper gallery that most probably ran round three sides of each room. The stylobate of the colonnade formed a kind of podium with two steps giving access to the bookcases and providing library users with somewhere to sit. On the *Forma Urbis* there is no sign of corridors connecting the two library rooms, but Henri Adolphe Auguste Deglane, in his reconstruction of the Palace of the Caesars, marks side doors to the libraries, interconnecting corridors and other small spaces that served as stairwells for stairs up to the galleries.⁹⁰ The rectangular recesses containing the bookcases were arranged symmetrically along the side walls of each room and may have been framed by engaged columns at both levels.

*Domitian's library
on the Palatine*

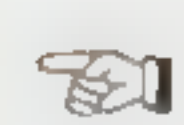
The typology of imperial Roman libraries. It was the architect of Domitian's bilingual library – whether that architect was Rabirius or someone else – who established the characteristic features found in most Roman libraries, whether they were independent buildings or parts of a larger complex. The design philosophy called for absolute symmetry, the primary object being to inspire awe in the reader or visitor from the moment he set foot in the building, so making him aware of the divine provenance or knowledge; and this awareness was reinforced by the dominating presence of statues of Athena/Minerva or the deified emperor flanked by portraits of great writers and scholars. There was no vestibule in the libraries and the main entrance doors were often sheltered by protective stoas. The rooms were not divided into aisles: they were designed in such a way that anyone entering through the front door would immediately have a full view of the whole interior. The parallel colonnades along the side walls were there for practical reasons, since among other things they served as supports for the upper gallery, which was used as extra storage space for books and sometimes also as a picture gallery. Libraries were not only places for reading books but were often used as auditoriums for lectures and debates, which helps to explain why they were laid out 'amphitheatrically' with steps along three sides. Besides





giving access to the bookcases, the steps were used as seats for the audience, and in addition they served two other purposes, one aesthetic and one functional: on the one hand they offered library users (whether standing or sitting) a better view of the bookcases and colonnades, and on the other they guarded against the danger of the bookcases and their fragile contents being damaged by floods, by forming a sort of reservoir for the floodwaters. The principal fittings of every library, the bookcases (*armaria* or *scrinia*), were made of wood and were arranged symmetrically, mostly along the side walls and sometimes along part of the back wall on either side of the votive statue, but never along the front wall. Structurally, the storage spaces for books were rectangular recesses about 40 centimetres above the podium containing wooden cupboards with doors that could be closed, as we shall see. Typical examples of these basic principles of library design, with variations to suit the size of the room (sometimes with an upper gallery and sometimes without), are to be found in libraries large and small, including the one in Trajan's Forum, Hadrian's libraries at Tibur and in Athens, the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, the libraries at Sagalassus and Thessalonica and the library of Melitene at the Asclepieum of Pergamum, among others.

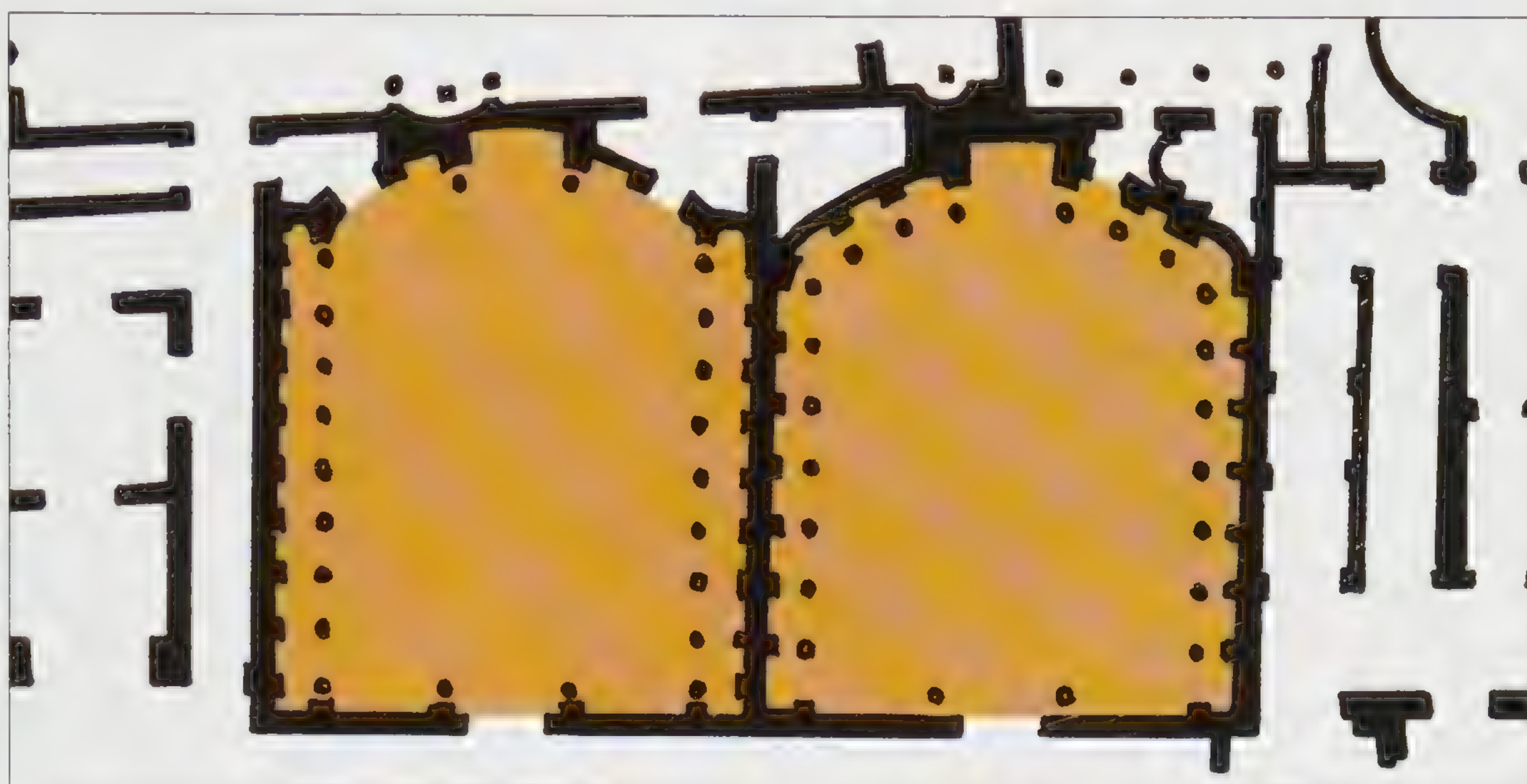
Interior design and decoration. In pursuit of the aim of giving libraries a monumental appearance and simultaneously paying tribute to the god or goddess who presided over them, their floors and walls were paved or faced with some suitable material, usually marble. Another advantage of marble was that it provided an additional layer of insulation, chiefly against damp. From the first century A.D. library floors were sometimes paved with mosaics instead of marble, as at Sagalassus. The facing of the walls was of marble at least up to the top of the bookcases: above that it was sometimes of plaster, with frescoes painted on it, or alternatively it might be adorned with reliefs of eminent Greek and Roman scholars in terracotta, plaster or even marble. From the reign of Hadrian onwards, in a few exceptional cases, there may have been facings of other materials such as alabaster, which covered some of the surfaces in Hadrian's library. A question that remains unanswered, since any hypothesis is unconfirmed by literary sources or archaeological finds, concerns the form of the roof. It could have been a saddle roof or a lean-to roof, as the case may



6. *Reconstruction of the Porticus Octaviae by Félix Duban (1827). From Ruins of Ancient Rome, p. 161.*

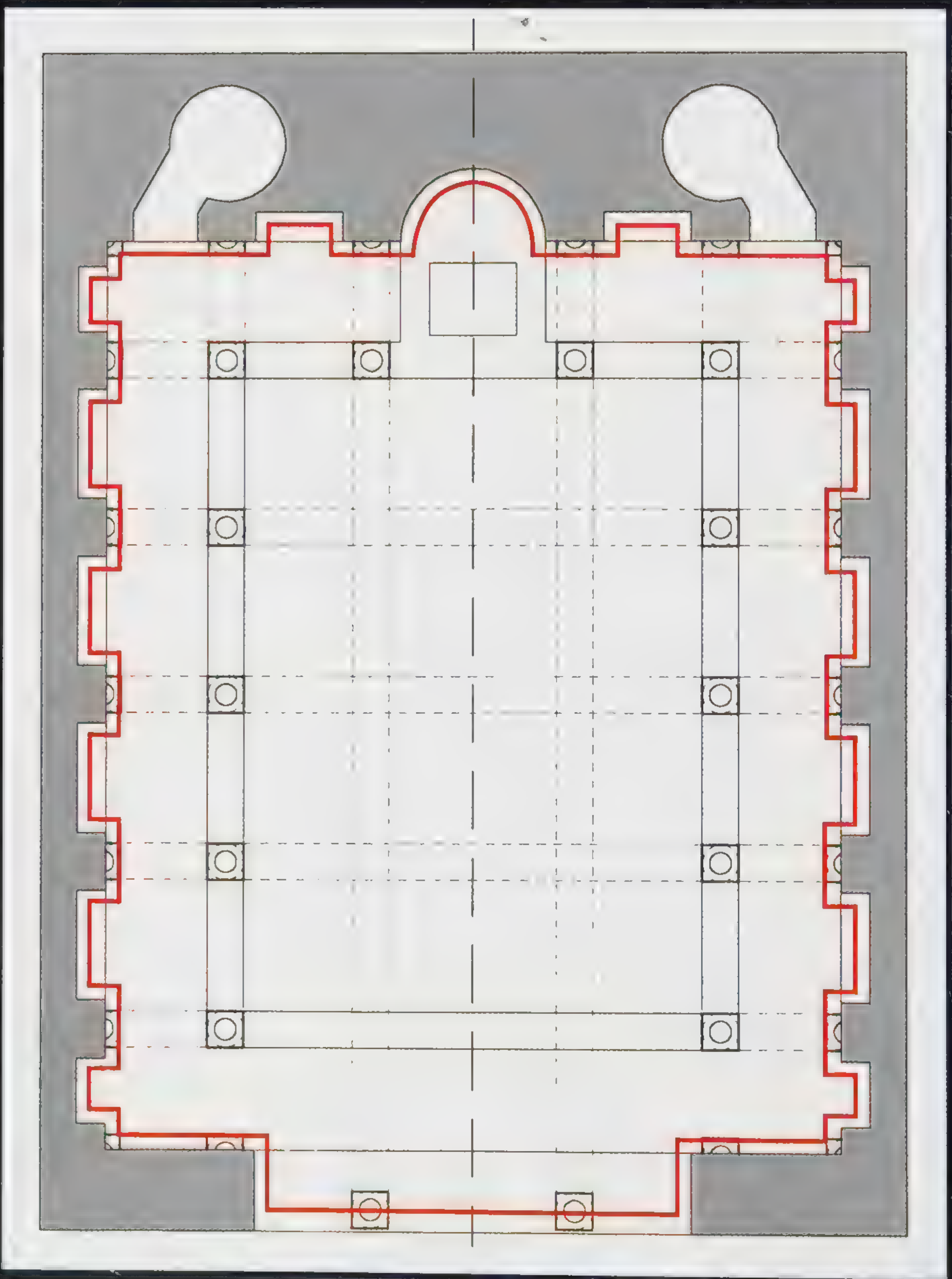
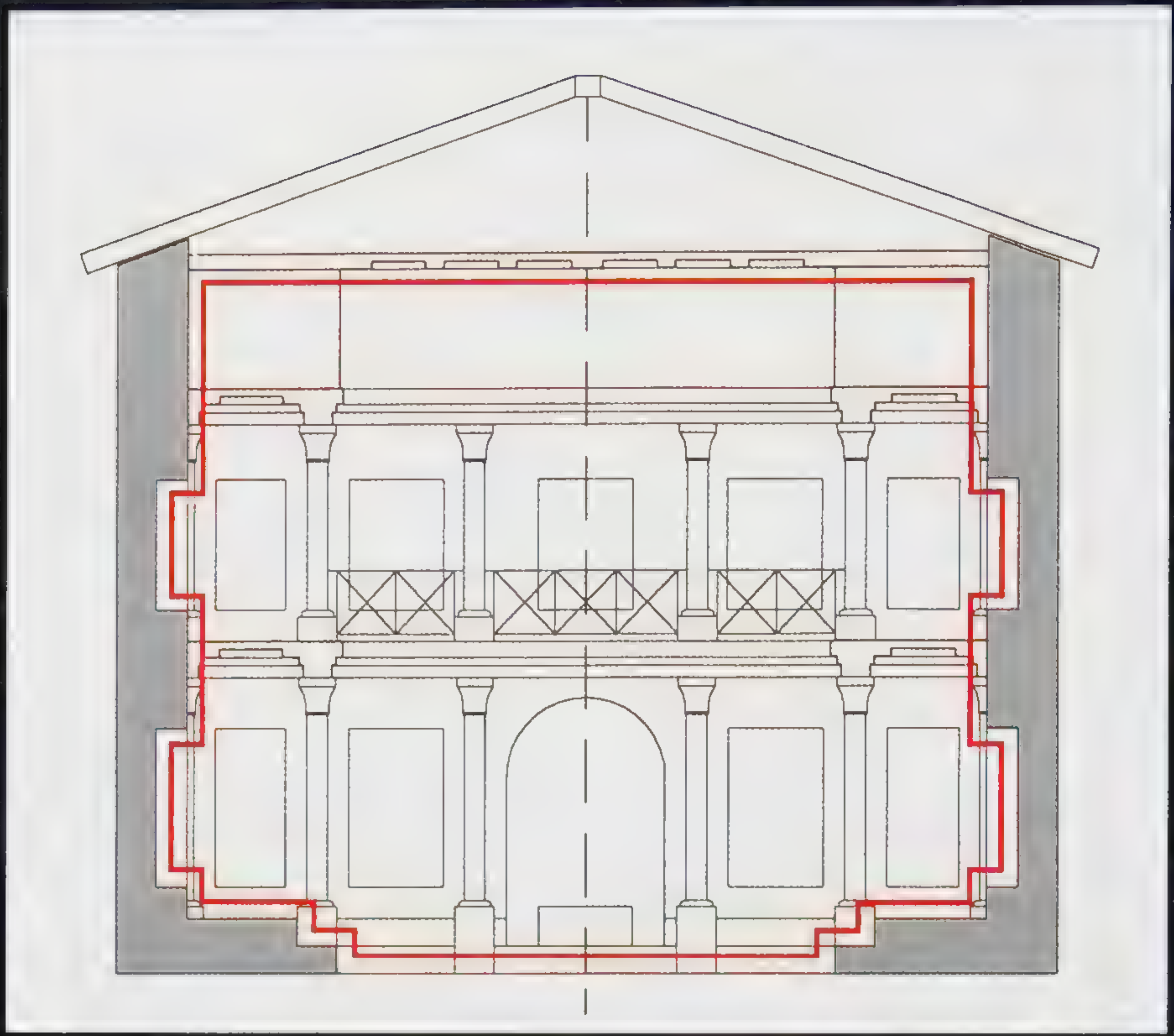
be, and it has even been suggested that there may have been a light-well in the middle for practical reasons. A wooden ceiling beneath the roof truss, coffered partly to improve the acoustic, would have provided a first-rate, well-designed surface to be decorated with panel or relief paintings.⁹¹

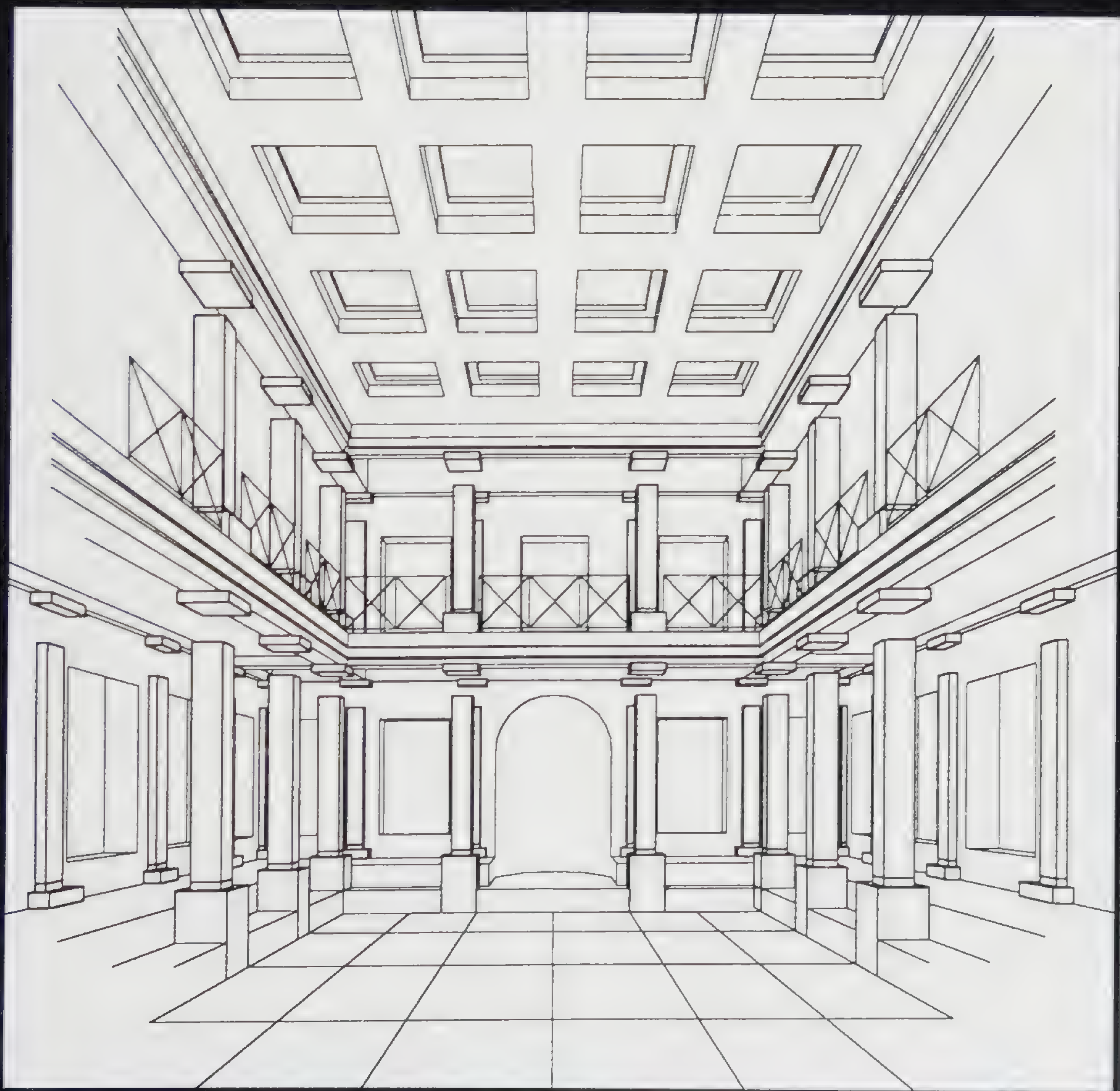
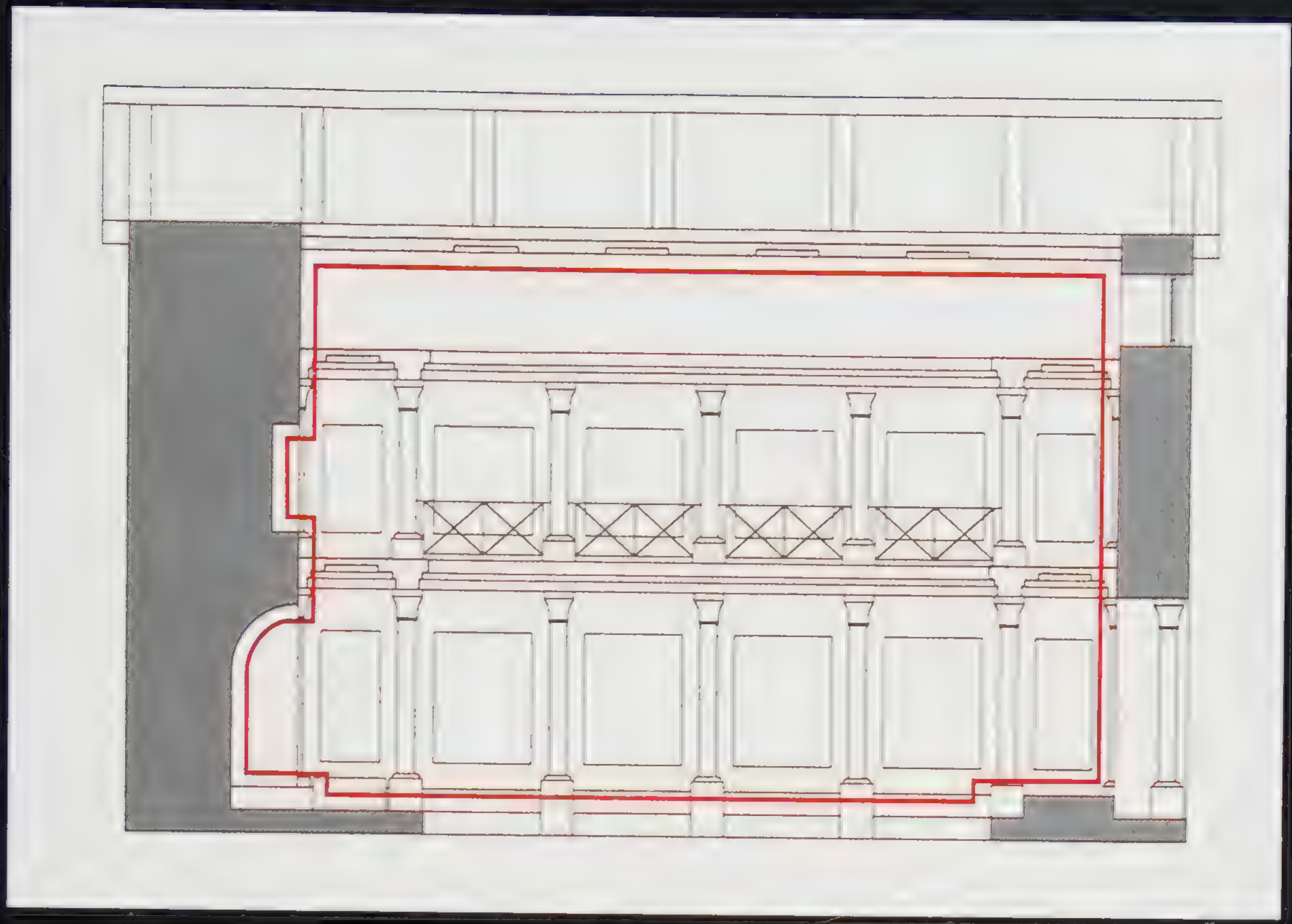
The ornaments quintessentially typical of Graeco-Roman libraries were the *imagines clipeatae*, which were portraits and statues of writers and scholars adorning the formal main hall of a library and often the protective stoas through which the main room was approached. An *imago clipeata* might be a full-length statue, a bust on a pedestal, a metal or terracotta relief attached to the wall or a pier, or a wall-painting like the one described by Clark in his



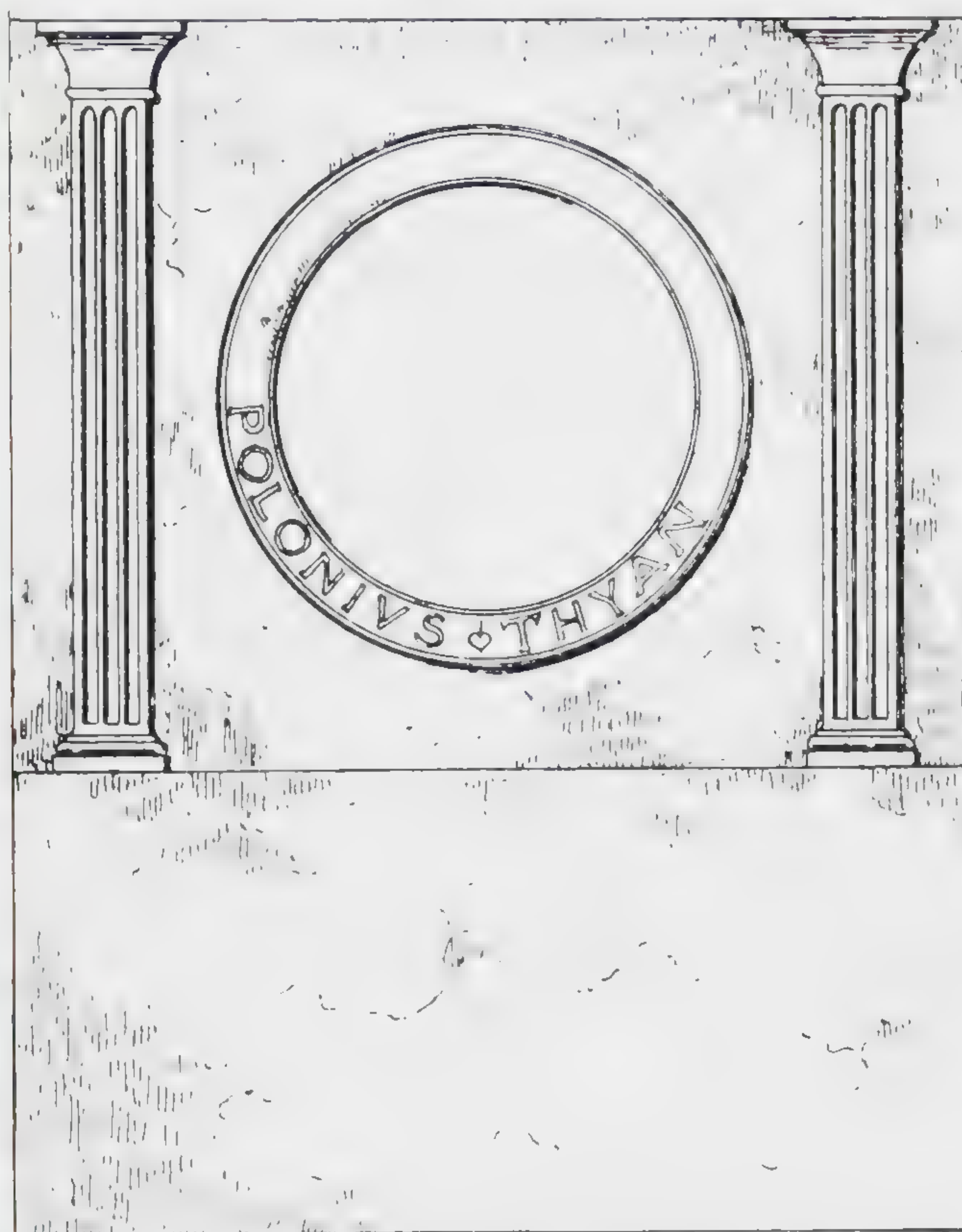
7. Plan of Domitian's bilingual library drawn by Henri-Adolphe Auguste Deglane (1887). From *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 119.

book.⁹² Propertius, on his first visit to the area of the newly-built Temple of Apollo on the Palatine in Augustus's reign, was so impressed by the ornamentation as a whole that he included it as the main subject of one of his stories.⁹³ Even before Pollio placed a portrait of Varro in Rome's first public library,⁹⁴ Roman aristocrats commonly adorned their private libraries with busts of philosophers and poets, as Cicero mentions in one of his letters to Atticus where he describes the feelings inspired in him by finding Aristotle looking down at him in Sulla's library.⁹⁵ Then, with the advent of the first public and imperial libraries, the placing of an author's portrait in such a position not only secured public recognition for him, obviously enough, but was also a desideratum in the life and work of every writer or scholar. Martial, in a bid to ensure his undying fame, pleads with Sextus to reserve a niche for his bust in the





Palatine Library, next to those of Pedo, Marsus and Catullus; and Tacitus states that during a session of the Senate attended by Augustus the *imagines* of the rhetoricians on view included one of Hortensius.⁹⁶ Emperor Tiberius almost certainly ordered portraits of Drusus the Elder and his son, Drusus Julius Germanicus Caesar, to be displayed in public libraries because he considered



12. Reconstruction drawing of a moulded wall decoration in a private library of the fourth century A.D. The circular frame, which probably enclosed a portrait, contains the name *POLONIUS THYAN*. From J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books...*, p. 23.

them men of outstanding genius, and especially because the latter had dedicated his translation of Aratus's *Phaenomena* to the Emperor.⁹⁷ The *Historia Augusta* also informs us that there was a statue of Emperor Nume-rianus as an orator in Trajan's Biblio-theca Ulpia in the Forum.

In the matter of setting up hon-oric busts and portraits of writers still alive, Pollio's initiative of hon-ouring Varro in this way was no exception to normal practice, for it appears that Tiberius, not content with censoring literature, sometimes censored art as well: for example, in an attempt to elevate the standing of the poets he liked – namely Eupho-rior, Parthenius and Rhianus – he ordered that their busts as well as their poems were to be placed in the

public libraries.⁹⁸ When writers of the imperial period mention works by other authors, they often do so in conjunction with a reference to their portrait busts: Pliny the Younger, for instance, commenting on the literary style of Pompeius Saturninus, says: 'If he had been a contemporary of those on whom we have never set eyes, we should not only be seeking to procure copies of his books but also asking for busts of him.'⁹⁹ And here is the same writer describing the contents of Silius Italicus's villas:¹⁰⁰ 'In each he had any quantity of books, statues and busts, which he not only kept by him but even treated with a sort



8-11. Conjectural reconstruction of the principles and rules governing the design of a monumental library under the Roman Empire. Drawings by K. Sp. Staikos.

of veneration, especially the busts of Virgil.’¹⁰¹ Finally, Juvenal pillories the owners of private libraries, whom he sees as epitomizing the cultural degeneracy of aristocratic society in Domitian’s reign: ‘In the first place, they are unlearned persons, though you may find their houses crammed with plaster casts of Chrysippus; for their greatest hero is the man who has brought a likeness of Aristotle or Pittacus, or bids his shelves preserve an original portrait of Cleanthes.’¹⁰²

Bookcases. In public libraries, the receptacle most commonly used for book storage – mainly to protect the fragile papyrus rolls against the damp – was a wooden cupboard or chest (*armarium* or *scrinium*), which in some literary sources is called a *loculamentum* or *nidus*.¹⁰³ No pictorial or other evidence has come down to us which makes it possible for the bookcases of a monumental library of the Roman period to be reconstructed with any certainty, and all attempts at reconstructing them have been based on surviving wooden cases (*armaria*) which were not intended for the storage of papyrus rolls. Therefore, to make this description of the architecture of a monumental library as complete as possible, I shall put forward a working hypothesis concerning the design philosophy for the construction and installation of a bookcase.

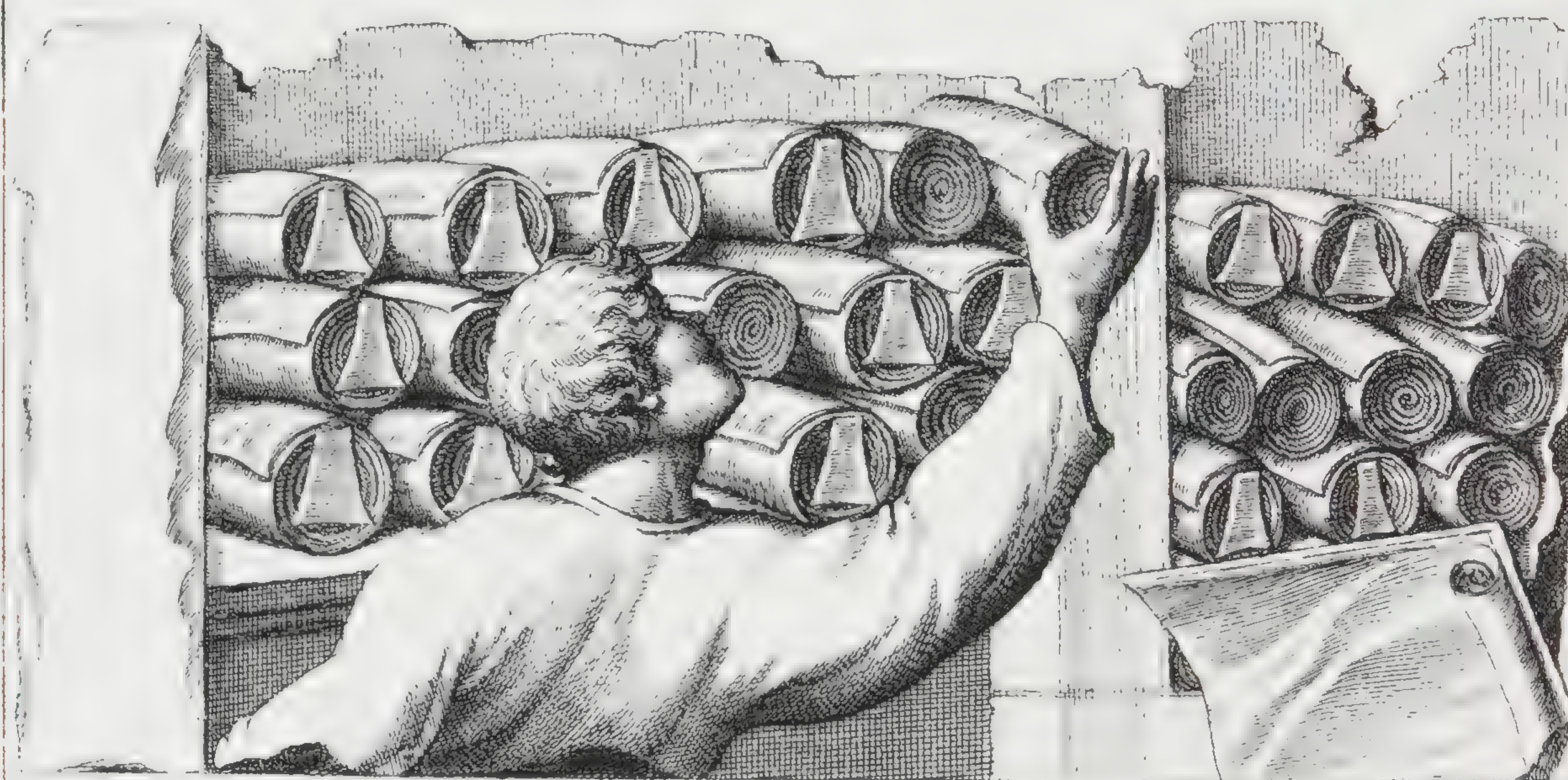
For functional as well as aesthetic reasons, it was standard practice for bookcases to be built into rectangular recesses in the walls, about 60 cm. deep. As we have seen, these recesses were positioned about 40 cm. above the floor or the podium to keep the bookcases clear of the water in the event of flooding. They were usually in the region of 1.50 m. wide and their usable height never exceeded 1.70 m., so that the librarians could work without having to stand on footstools. The architect’s paramount concern, however, was to protect the wooden bookcases from damp in the walls and to give them some kind of natural interior ventilation. The surest way of doing this was to set them in the recesses leaving a slight gap between them and the wall on all sides, so that the air would form a protective layer between the wooden sides of the bookcases and the stone of the wall.

The interior of the bookcases must have been designed so that all the books comprising a single work – ranging in number from two to thirty or sometimes more – could be stored together in a single case or adjacent cases. Each case would have been divided by horizontal shelves with vertical or diagonal partitions to allow the papyrus rolls to breathe, rather than all being stacked in a single heap. The width of a papyrus roll intended for storage in a public

Designing
built-in
bookcases

library did not exceed 40 cm., including the omphalos (roller knob), and by laying them correctly in the pigeonholes made it possible to create another protective layer of air inside the bookcases, on all sides. Then the cupboard doors – probably double doors, perhaps four-leaved – should not be made so airtight that the atmosphere inside was conducive to mould: the door panels had to be made of wooden or metal latticework with gaps through which the air could circulate even when the bookcases were rarely opened or permanently closed.

SCHEMA VOLUMINUM, IN BIBLIOTHECAM ORDINE OLIM DIGESTORUM,
Noviomagi in loco Castrorum Constantini M. hoc
diedum in lapide reperto excisum.



13. Engraving of a lost Roman relief from Neumagen, on the Moselle.

Baroque architectural features in monumental libraries. From the surviving façades of libraries of the imperial period and certain specific features of the interior design and layout of the main hall in a number of monumental libraries, it is clear that elements of the so-called Roman baroque style were introduced from the late first century A.D., if not earlier. But before

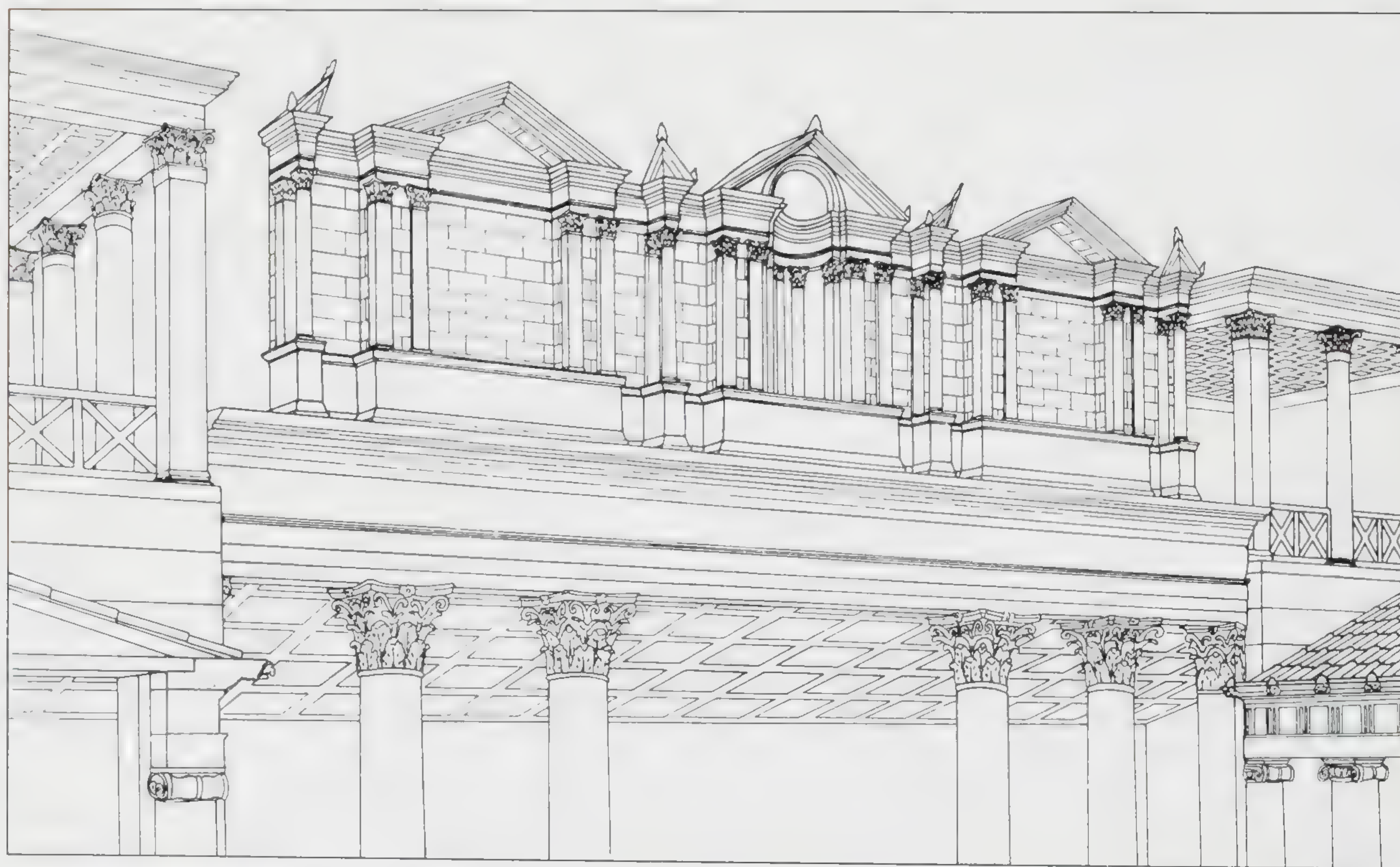
14. Conjectural reconstruction of a bookcase in the period of the Roman Empire. Drawing by K. Sp. Staikos.



going on to consider those instances, it seems to me that something should be said about the distinctive characteristics of Roman baroque.

Ever since Lawrence stated his view that the Monument of Lysicrates 'may be legitimately described as baroque'¹⁰⁴ and Wölfflin noted that the sense of movement is an important feature of the baroque style,¹⁰⁵ great advances have been made in the study and classification of the monuments of Graeco-Roman civilization noted for their baroque architecture. The examples of that style are dated only from the early second to the third century A.D., that is from the period of the Empire. However, following Burckhardt's proposition that the style of vanished early Renaissance buildings is to be discovered from pictorial art,¹⁰⁶ historians of Graeco-Roman architecture have followed his advice to the letter and enlisted the invaluable evidence of the paintings preserved in villas and public buildings at Pompeii and Herculaneum in southern Italy.¹⁰⁷ Many of the buildings illustrated in those frescoes are dominated by half-pediments, free-standing colonnades, superimposed aediculae and other features suggesting nothing so much as a stage set, as for example in the Villa of the Mysteries,¹⁰⁸ the House of Julius Felix¹⁰⁹ and the House of the Labyrinth,¹¹⁰ all of which are representative of the so-called Second Pompeian Style.

The origins of this architectural concept can be traced back to Greece in the



15. *The Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais: hypothetical reconstruction of the upper order on the north side of the peristyle courtyard, 1st c. A.D.*

fourth century B.C., when a distinction started to be made between the façade and the actual structural frame of the building.¹¹¹ Apparently it was from this trend that the Corinthian column and the Corinthian order as a whole evolved, crystallizing into a well-defined form in Ptolemaic Alexandria: no examples of the order have survived from Ptolemaic Alexandria itself, but its influence is strongly visible in the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais.¹¹² Other constructions belonging to the same category include the rock-hewn relief façades of tombs and temples at Petra, the capital of the Nabataeans: the Temple of the Nabataeans and the tombs of el-Khasne and el-Deir.¹¹³ Nor are the famous monuments of Petra the only examples of this style of architecture: others are to be found elsewhere in the Near East and North Africa, including the Temple of Zeus at Baalbek and the Temple of Bel at Palmyra,¹¹⁴ both dating from the first century A.D., and, from the second century A.D., the south gate into the Agora at Miletus, Hadrian's Gate at Attaleia (Antalya), the theatre at Aspendus and the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Sagalassus.¹¹⁵

The path actually followed by this 'stagy' baroque architecture – from Greece to the Near East, from there to Rome and then back again – does not concern us here. Vitruvius,¹¹⁶ who is critical of the tendency to incorporate elements of the *scaenae frons* in inappropriate places, citing the little theatre at Tralles as an example, is against the use of such baroque ornaments as half-pediments in temple façades.¹¹⁷ But what are those features of baroque architecture? Briefly, they can be summed up as follows: the harmonious coexistence – achieved by means of absolute symmetry – of the architectural forms and even the architectural orders of buildings whose façades, while not having any organic relationship with their interiors, consisted of purely ornamental architectural members that were there solely for aesthetic reasons and served no practical purpose. For example, the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, or a miniature of the Temple of Hercules Victor, is a principal decorative motif in the scenographic fresco (perhaps a depiction of some lost building) in the House of the Labyrinth, and also in the façade of el-Deir at Petra, with symmetrically positioned half-pediments. And in the monumental south gate of the Agora at Miletus, the two-tier arched doorways *in antis* are protected by free-standing colonnades crowned by Classical pediments and half-pediments so that they form a structure somewhat reminiscent of a gateway.

When we look for baroque architectural elements in independent or non-independent libraries of the imperial period and try to put them in chronological order, the earliest instance – as far as we can tell in the present state



of knowledge – is in the Library of Celsus at Ephesus (1st century A.D.).¹¹⁸ The architect who designed that particular building not only created a visually imposing façade but also made a point of applying the same style consistently in the interior as well. The characteristic architectural members of its façade and its interior have already been described, and in any case the suggested reconstructions by Wilberg and others paint an eloquent picture of its appearance.¹¹⁹ However, there are certain distinctive touches added by the hand of this anonymous architect which show an affinity with other examples of architectural design by known architects, and these are worth enumerating here.

Although the façade of the Library of Celsus is described as an example of baroque architecture, the architect who conceived the design created an absolutely harmonious fusion of the outer masonry with a free-standing structure, for practical as well as aesthetic reasons. The framework of the façade consists of engaged columns symmetrically arranged on either side of a vertical axis and framing the doors, lintels and rectangular recesses. This framework is projected forward in a free-standing colonnade crowned by architraves and pediments, forming three aediculae which protected the three doorways and sheltered them from the sun and rain. No other ancient library had niches for statues on the façade, with the possible exception of the one at Sagalassus, where the numerous recesses in the exterior walls may well have been used for that purpose.¹²⁰

But which of the Library of Celsus's architectural features were the ones that influenced later libraries of the Roman period? They could include the two boldly-projecting antae with complete entablatures at the two ends of the façade, on either side of the monumental tetrapylon: these constitute the most distinctive design features of the monumental enclosure wall of Hadrian's Library on either side of the entrance propylon. Deneuve suggests that the style of the façade in the Library of Celsus was taken as a model for the similar structure in the Carthage Library. In fact, the front elevation of the Sagalassus library may well have been similar in appearance, on the evidence of the architecture of the library's main hall and the characteristic structural features of other monuments in the city, such as the *scaenae frons* of the theatre according to Lanckoronski's reconstruction.¹²¹

The 'style' of every work of artistic or literary expression stays always with its creator, and recognition of that style has often made it possible to identify

*Baroque features
of libraries
in the East*

16. *The Treasury at Petra. Photo: Dora Minaidi.*

works which would otherwise have remained anonymous. If we now turn our attention to monumental libraries in the hope of discerning a stylistic 'hand-writing' characteristic of a particular architect, on the evidence of the archaeological finds we should limit our search to the reigns of Hadrian and Trajan. From that period there are three monumental libraries that have been studied more than any others of the Roman period: the Library of Celsus, the bilingual library in Trajan's Forum and Hadrian's Library in Athens. Of these, the earliest is the Library of Celsus (*circa* A.D. 100), while Trajan's Library was probably completed shortly before 117 and Hadrian's Library in 132. The first of the three has been restored on the basis of design elements and spoil found *in situ*; the second has now been entrusted to the 'imagination' of computers; and the iconic image of the one in Athens is its monumental front wall. But what is the central architectural idea that can be discerned and may point to the hand of one particular architect, and what are the basic design rules underlying that idea?

The feature that distinguishes the façades of these three libraries and at the same time protects them from the elements is in each case a covered stoa with a free-standing colonnade which acts as a sort of antechamber to the main room of the library. In Trajan's Library, in fact, the stoa may have served a symbolic as well as a functional purpose, as it connects the Greek and Latin libraries through the philosophy of the 'Stoa', the school especially favoured by Roman thinkers, thus linking two civilizations which, from a certain point onwards, are united by the thread of continuity. Absolute symmetry is a shared quality, and the famous column with a statue of the deified Emperor Trajan stands at the intersection of the longitudinal and lateral axes of the Forum and the twin libraries or, to put it another way, at the centre of an imaginary cross. Each of the two main library rooms is given added stature by another free-standing structure: a two-tier, Π -shaped colonnade forming passages that give access to the bookcases. The main purpose of the overall decorative scheme was to create an ever-expanding 'living art gallery' which immortalized Greek and Roman writers, scholars and philosophers – always under the gaze of Athena/Minerva (symbolizing divine knowledge) and the deified emperor – through the transmission of that divine knowledge to the Roman people.

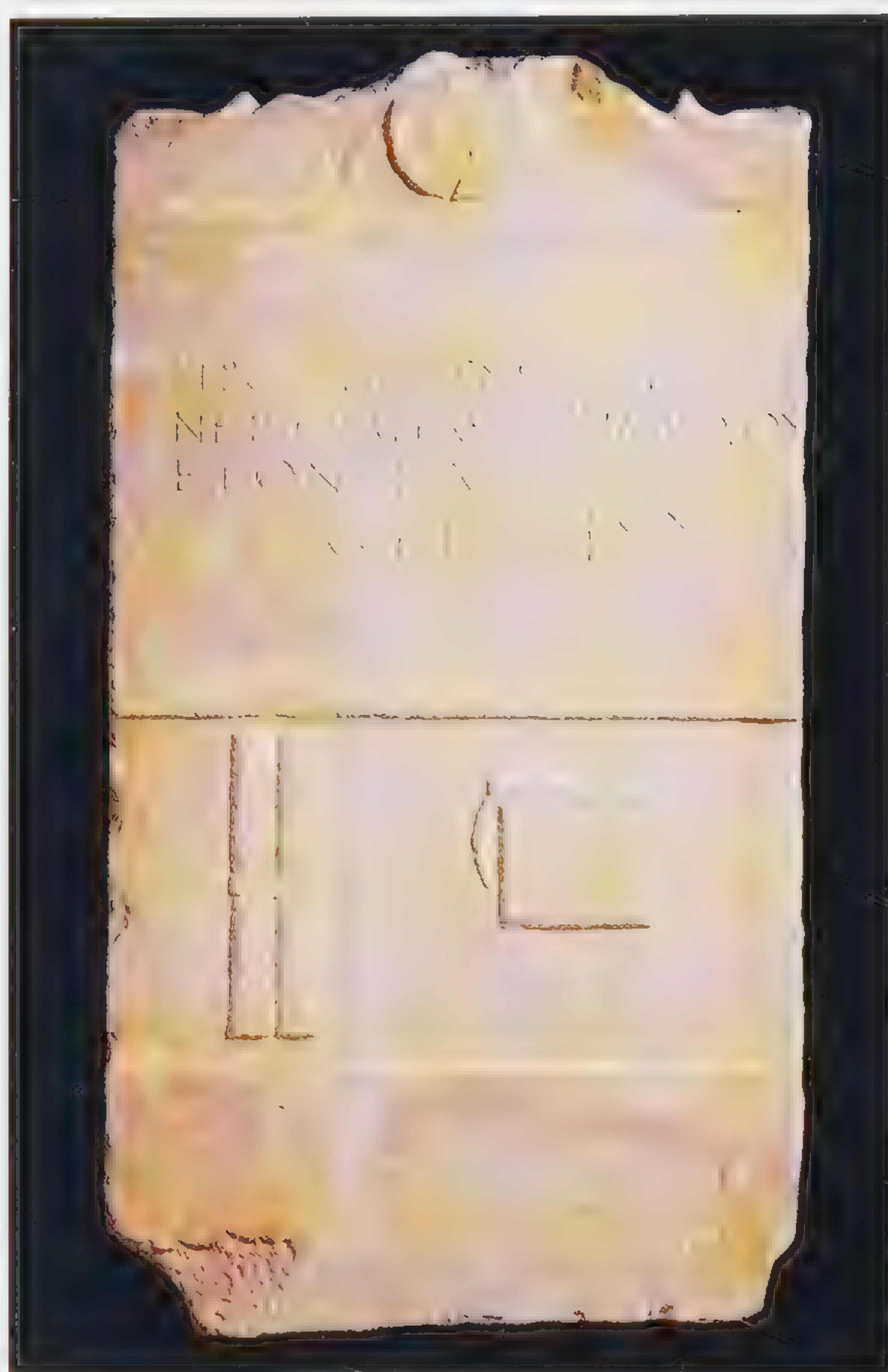
Still the question remains: who might the architect behind this concept have been? Presumably a man with a Greek cultural background who had grown up in the Hellenistic cities of the Near East, a product of the interaction of the Greek and oriental civilizations: perhaps Apollodorus of Damascus?

Little is known about that great architect except that he was a Hellenized Nabataean, born at Damascus *circa* A.D. 70, and that his father was a client of Marcus Ulpius Traianus, the father of the future emperor.¹²² Apollodorus's knowledge of Greek was limited and, being a perfectionist, he was not afraid to admit the fact: 'The matter calls for complex verbal expression and I am not capable of expressing myself [in Greek] with sufficient lucidity.' He is credited with the introduction of baroque architectural elements into Rome: he was in charge of the designs and supervised the construction of Trajan's Forum and Trajan's Column and he proposed a number of baroque features that were adopted by Hadrian, Trajan's successor on the imperial throne.¹²³ Quite possibly the Library of Celsus at Ephesus was an early specimen of Apollodorus's individual architectural style.

Library administration and day-to-day working. The history of public libraries in the Roman world is closely bound up with the personalities of the Roman emperors, who retained a large measure of control over the running of the libraries throughout the imperial period. What is more, their relationships with literary circles determined the fate of every writer's work, as we have had frequent occasion to note.¹²⁴ A library was therefore a department of the imperial household, headed by someone the Emperor trusted implicitly: the secretary *a bibliothecis*, who often held another position in the Emperor's service simultaneously, perhaps as his secretary *ab epistulis*.¹²⁵ As early as Augustus's reign, we know that first Cn. Pompeius Macer and then Hyginus was appointed as head of the Palatine Library, while the *grammaticus* Gaius Melissus was director of the library in the Porticus Octaviae.¹²⁶ Suetonius held that post under Trajan, and when he was dismissed¹²⁷ he was replaced by Hadrian's tutor, Lucius Julius Vestinus, who came from Alexandria and had previously been head of the Museum there.¹²⁸ After a time there were so many public and imperial libraries in the fora and thermae of Rome that it became necessary to subject them to a better-organized system of supervision and control. So we find a certain Tiberius Julius Pappus,¹²⁹ a Roman citizen of Greek descent, mentioned as the 'library superintendent': *supr[a] bybliothechas omnes Augustorum ab Ti Caesare usque ad Ti Claudium Caesarem* ('over all the libraries of the emperors from Tiberius to Claudius'). Under Trajan too, we have at least a passing reference to the fact that one Annius Postumus was the supervisor of the much-used bilingual library in the Forum.¹³⁰

Under the orders of the head of the library there was a whole staff of

educated, highly-trained slaves working as librarians with the title of *promus librorum*: they were responsible not only for keeping the books in their proper places but also for copying and conserving manuscripts.¹³¹ Their names have not come down to us from literary sources but are recorded in funerary inscriptions found in Roman *columbaria* (niches holding the urns with the ashes of slaves and freedmen employed by the Julio-Claudian dynasty of



17. Grave stele inscribed with the name of Prouses, son of Menecrates, who died aged twenty-four. Found at Megara, dated to the 1st c. B.C. or the 1st c. A.D. Athens, Benaki Museum.



18. Funerary relief with an unusual composition: at the top, a handshake between a man and a woman, and below it a musical instrument (a nabla or nablas), a partly-unrolled papyrus and some writing implements. Found at Dion in 1994.

emperors).¹³² Two of those whose names are known were called Alexander and Antiochus: 'Alexander, the slave of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, ... of the Greek library in the Temple of Apollo, lived thirty years,' and 'Sulpicius Thales Antiochus, the slave of Tiberius Claudius Caesar, of the Apollonian Latin library.'¹³³

We also know from one inscription that medical care was provided for the staff of the imperial libraries and that there existed the title of *medicus a*

bybliothecis: it was the official position held by a freedman named Tiberius Claudius.¹³⁴

Gellius, writing about his travels in search of books, relates incidents which make it clear that libraries were very much alive, as in the villa of Herodes Atticus, the Temple of Hercules at Tibur and the Library of Tiberius on the Palatine. In the last of these, as already mentioned,¹³⁵ Gellius tells us that he had a conversation with some friends about the identity of a certain Marcus Cato Nepos, apropos of a book unknown to any of them which had been brought to them by the librarian. And the *Historia Augusta* has preserved a snippet of information about the numbering of bookcases which suggests that there was some sort of classification system, probably co-ordinated with the catalogues (*indices*) of each individual library in accordance with the Callimachean tradition.¹³⁶

Were there any bylaws or regulations governing the day-to-day running of ancient libraries and their lending policies? Unfortunately this is yet another question on which very little evidence has survived. In the Library of Pantaenus in Athens, as we have seen, not only did regulations exist but they were apparently posted up in a prominent position.¹³⁷ Public libraries in Rome did not allow books to be borrowed, and presumably they were open to the public only between certain hours on certain days; but the same was certainly not true of the libraries on the Palatine Hill, where the opening hours and lending policy were entirely in the hands of the Emperor and his closest aides. Before acceding to the imperial throne, Marcus Aurelius wrote a letter to his tutor, Fronto, telling him that he had borrowed some books of Cato's speeches from the Palatine Library and that he hoped to be able to persuade the librarian of the Tiberian library to be equally accommodating to Fronto.¹³⁸

*A famous set of
library regulations*

Epilogue. In this second volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization* we have followed the historical circumstances that led to the formation of archival collections in the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations – collections of clay tablets with writing in the Linear A and B scripts – and of private and public libraries containing literary works written on papyrus, from the Presocratic period to the fall of the Western Roman Empire. What those libraries had in common was the form of the actual book: the papyrus roll, on which all Greek and Roman literature was written down.

The emergence and development of Roman literature from within the fold of the Greek tradition, a process that started in the last two decades of the

third century B.C., provoked no abrupt or other change in the Hellenistic intellectual outlook or in the world of books generally. Moreover, apart from the fact that large and historic collections of books changed hands by being carried off to Rome as spoils of war, including the royal libraries of the Macedonian kings and Mithradates VI and great collections from Alexandria and Pergamum, the production and dissemination of books in a world where Greek was the official language were not impeded in any way.

Down to the first century B.C., the great centres of learning and books in the Greek world continued to be located in Athens (with its philosophy schools), Alexandria (with its Museum and library), Pergamum (with its gymnasiums and its excellent library) and Rhodes. Thereafter, however, with the founding of the first public library in Rome (*circa* 39 B.C.) and the Caesars' aspiration of making Rome the undisputed centre of scholarship in the Empire and the repository of the learning of the Graeco-Roman civilization, the situation changed. Monumental libraries were built in the imperial precincts of the Palatine Hill; their buildings were enlarged and their collections enriched by each new emperor; yet more libraries were founded, attached to the fora and the baths; and Roman aristocrats, striving to graft Hellenistic ideas and practices on to the Roman way of life, had studies and libraries built in their vast villas. Under Augustus the institution of the bilingual library became established, with separate buildings – or at least separate rooms – for Greek and Latin books, in a bid to place Roman and Greek literature on the same level.

After the end of the age of the Caesars, with the accession of Trajan and the emergence of a new class of Roman citizens from the oriental provinces, more and more public libraries were built in the East, some of them in historic centres of Hellenism and others in the new imperial and senatorial Roman colonies. From Dyrrhachium to Thamugadi and from Carthage to Sagalassus, independent libraries and others attached to schools, gymnasiums and even healing centres made it possible for anyone with bookish inclinations to study Graeco-Roman literature and thus to prepare the ground for the blossoming of a new literature, purely local in character.

This Graeco-Roman bibliological map was not transformed overnight: the process of change was a gradual one, affecting different places at different times. Great changes took place from the early decades of the fourth century with the ascendancy of Christianity and the widespread re-evaluation of Greek and Roman literature as it was transcribed into books of the new form: the codex made up of papyrus or parchment pages. Catastrophic changes were

also brought about by the conflict between Christians and pagans, which led to the destruction of so many books, either by burning or by erasure for reuse as palimpsests.

The third volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization* will cover the evolution of Christian literature in the East following the transfer of imperial power to the new capital, Constantinople, and the role of books in Byzantine civilization in general. It will also deal at length with the great libraries that remained active in the environment of the imperial court and those that came into being in monasteries and other centres of learning. Lastly, it will focus attention on the historic libraries belonging to scholars and men of letters who played a formative role in the intellectual life of the Byzantine Empire, especially during the Palaeologian and Italian Renaissance.

NOTES

VIII

Library Architecture

NOTES

1. Vitruvius, *De architectura* (= Vit.), available in Greek and English in the Loeb edition published by the Harvard University Press.
2. Vit. I.1.1-18.
3. Suet., *Div. Aug.* XXVIII.3.
4. See Cic., *Ad Quint. Frat.*, II.6.3; Gell. x.10.2; Plut., *Moralia* 498E and other references; J. L. D. Pearce, 'The Organization of Roman Building during the Late Republic and Early Empire' (doctoral dissertation), Cambridge, 1974, 100-101. For a general review of design practices (paradigms), see W. L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, I: An Introductory Study*, New Haven, 1982²; J. J. Coulton, 'Greek Architects and the Transmission of Design', in P. Gros (ed.), *Architecture et société, de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre de la recherche scientifique de l'école française de Rome (Rome 2-4 December 1980)* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 66), Paris/Rome, 1983, 453-468. The best pictorial example of a contemporary architectural 'drawing' is to be seen in the mosaic floor of a Roman bath-house: see D. W. Reynolds, 'Forma Urbis Romae: The Severan Marble Plan and the Urban Form of Ancient Rome' (doctoral dissertation), University of Michigan, 1996, 39-40 (and Pl. I, 31).
5. Vit. I.2.2. On the illustrations in Greek architectural textbooks and the first edition of Vitruvius, see Coulton, 'Greek Architects', 459-462; L. Haselberger, 'Die Zeichnungen in Vitruvs *De Architectura*. Zur Illustration antiker Schriften über das Konstruktionswesen', in *Geertman & DeJong* (1989), 69-70.
6. Vit. I.1.4.
7. Vit. VII.Praef.12 ff. More generally, see M. L. Clarke, 'The Architects of Greece and Rome', *Architectural History* 6 (1963) 14; J. J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work*, London, 1977, 15.
8. Vitruvius (VII.Praef.3-7) discourses at length on plagiarism, which, as we have seen (p. 178-179), was rife in Rome under the Empire. In this connection he tells a story about the rivalry between the kings of Pergamum and Egypt over the superiority of their respective libraries: at the Museum in Alexandria, he informs us, literary prizes were awarded to the winners of contests held in honour of the Muses and Apollo, and for one of those contests Aristophanes of Byzantium was elected to serve on the panel of judges (see Staikos, *The History of the Library*, I, 288).
9. Vit. VII.Praef.11.
10. *Ibid.* 12 ff.
11. *Ibid.* 14. According to Corso, this may have been C. Fuficius Fango, an officer in Julius Caesar's army (Dio Cassius, XLVIII.22.1).
12. Vit. VII.Praef.14. On Varro's *Artes liberales* see p. 66 herein. It should be added that in late antiquity the nine 'liberal arts' were reduced in number to seven, medicine and architecture having been dropped.
13. On the material that Vitruvius drew from Hermogenes in writing Book III of *De architectura*, see P. Gros, 'Structures et limites de la compilation vitruvienne dans les livres III et IV', *Latomus* 34

- (1975) 986-1009; Id., 'Le dossier vitruvien d'Hermogénès', *MEFRA* 90.2 (1978) 687-703. On Hermogenes in general see W. Hoepfner and E.L. Schwandner, *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990; and esp. M. Kreeb, 'Hermogenes: Quellen- und Datierungsprobleme', in Hoepfner and Schwandner, *Hermogenes*, 103-114.
14. Vit. VII.Praef.12.
 15. Vit. III.2.5. Gros believes that Vitruvius did not have access to the authentic works of Hermodorus but only to excerpts and opinions quoted by Varro and Septimius: see P. Gros, 'Hermodoros et Vitruve', *MEFRA* 85 (1973) 136-161; Id., 'Les premières générations d'architectes hellénistiques à Rome', ed. R. Bloch, in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine I. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 27), Rome, 1976, 387-409.
 16. On the Temple of Jupiter Stator see P. Lefas, *Σχόλια στὸν Βιτρούβιο*, on Vit. III.2.5. On the question of Hermodorus's precise contribution to the building see M. J. Boyd, 'The Porticus of Metellus and Octavia and Their Two Temples', *PBSR* 21 (1953) 152-159; M. G. Morgan, 'The Portico of Metellus: A Reconsideration', *Hermes* 99 (1971) 480-505; N. Horsfall, 'Patronage of Art in the Roman World', *Prudentia* 20 (1988) 9-28.
 17. On the importation of Pentelic marble for use in buildings in Rome, see esp. Gros, 'Les premières générations d'architectes', 393.
 18. Vit. VII.Praef.15. On Cossutius see E. Rawson, 'Architecture and Sculpture: The Activities of the Cossuttii', *PBSR* 43 (1975) 36-47; and, more generally, J. C. Anderson, Jr., *Roman Architecture and Society*, Baltimore/London, 1997, 3-67.
 19. See Rawson, 'Architecture and Sculpture', 38-39; R. Tolle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen*, Köln/Wien, 1994, 142-145.
 20. Vit. VII.Praef.15, 17.
 21. Vit. III.2.5, VII.Praef.17.
 22. See L. Richardson, Jr., 'Honos et Virtus and the Sacra Via', *AJA* 82 (1978) 245.
 23. Vit. VII.Praef.17. On the position of the Mariana see L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore/London, 1992, 190.
 24. See pp. 196 ff.
 25. See G. Molisani, 'Lucius Cornelius Quinti Catuli Architectus', *RAL* 26 (1971) 1-10.
 26. Tac., *Hist.* III.72.
 27. On Catulus see J. Suolahti, *The Roman Censors*, Helsinki, 1963, 464-469.
 28. See pp. 80 ff.
 29. Cic., *Ad Att.* II.3. See esp. Pearse, 'The Organization of Roman Building', 16.
 30. See Anderson, *Roman Architecture*, 33.
 31. Cic., *Ad Att.* II.3.
 32. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI.24.103-104.
 33. Cic., *Ad fam.* VII.14. On the professional relationship between Cyrus and Chrysippus see Pearse, 'The Organization of Roman Building', 16-17, 21; P. H. Shrijvers, 'Vitruve et la vie intellectuelle de son temps', in *Geertman & DeJong* (1989), 15.
 34. On Vitruvius see P. Thielscher, 'Vitruvius Mamurra', in *RE*, 9A1, Stuttgart, 1961, 419-489; B. Baldwin, 'The Date, Identity, and Career of Vitruvius', *Latomus* 94 (1990) 425-434.
 35. See K. Ohr, 'Die form der Basilika bei Vitruv', *BJ* 175 (1975) 113-128; A. Deli, 'La Basilica di Vitruvio', in *Fano Romana*, ed. F. Milesi, Fano, 1992, 209-220.
 36. See D. Kienast, 'Cocceius Auctus, L.', in *Der Neue Pauly*, 3 (1997), 47 (1).
 37. *CIL* X 1614; *CIL* X 3707 (Comum).
 38. See E. Groag, 'L. Cocceius Nerva', in *RE*, 4/1 (1900), 130-131.

39. See Gros, *Architecture et société*, 425-452 ('Status social et rôle culturel des architectes. Période hellénistique et augustéenne'); S. D. Martin, *The Roman Jurists and the Organization of Private Building in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Collection Latomus, 204), Brussels, 1989, 57.
40. *CLC* X, 8093; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI.24.102.
41. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI.24.102-103.
42. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI.4.42.
43. Tac., *Ann.* XV.42.
44. See MacDonald, *The Architecture*, I, 125-127.
45. Mart., *Epigr.* VII.56, VIII.11.
46. On the work done by Rabirius on the Palatine, see Helge Finsen, *La résidence de Domitien sur le Palatin* [Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementa, 5], Copenhagen, 1969; MacDonald, *The Architecture*, I, 52-69.
47. On Domitian's programme for the re-planning of Rome as a whole, see M. Torelli, 'Culto imperiale e spazi urbani in età Flavia', in C. Pietri (ed.), *L'Urbs: Espace urbain et histoire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, Suppl. 98), Rome, 1987, 563-582; J. C. Anderson, Jr., 'A Topographical Tradition in Fourth Century Chronicles: Domitian's Building Program', *Historia* 32 (1983) 93-105; B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, London/New York, 1992.
48. See MacDonald, *The Architecture*, I, 127-129.
49. For the bibliography on Apollodorus of Damascus see p. 215.
50. Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV.6.12-13; see also Dio Cassius, LXVIII.13.
51. See K. A. Waters, 'Traianus Domitiani Continuator', *AJPh* 96 (1969) 385-405.
52. See MacDonald, *The Architecture*, I, 129-137. On the introduction of baroque elements into Roman architecture, see pp. 354 ff. herein.
53. *Hist. Aug.: Hadrianus* XIX.13.
54. Dio Cassius, LXIX.4.
55. On Hadrian see pp. 356 ff.
56. Dio Cassius, LXIX.3.2.
57. On the villa at Tibur and its libraries see pp. 257-263.
58. *Hist. Aug.: Hadrianus* XIX.12.
59. *Hist. Aug.: Commodus* XVII.5; Pearse, 'Organization of Roman Building', 45.
60. See W. Burkert, 'Perikles von Mylasa, Architekt des Tempels der Venus und Roma', in *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, ed. H. Froning, T. Hölscher and H. Mielsch, Mainz am Rhein, 1992, 415-417.
61. See *PapOxy*, Part III, 1903, No. 412.
62. On the disagreement over the exact site of this library see A. Langie, *Les bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Fribourg, 1908, 75-76; V. Lundström, 'Bidrag till Roms topografi I: Pantheon-biblioteket', *Eranos* 10 (1912) 64-72; A. Boëthius, 'Till frågan om Pantheons byggnadshistoria', *Eranos* 28 (1930) 201-203; Elżbieta Makowiecka, *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of Roman Library*, Warsaw, 1978, 94-95; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 59.
63. See pp. 67, 106.
64. See pp. 65, 132.
65. Vitr. I.6.8, I.6.11-12. Xenophon (*Memorabilia* III.8-9) also comments on the southerly orientation of private houses: 'In houses with a south aspect, the sun's rays penetrate into the porticoes in winter, but in summer the path of the sun is right over our heads and above the roof, so that there is shade.'
66. See the sections herein on the Library of Celsus and the Carthage Library.
67. See J. E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in*

- Rome: A Study of the Monuments in Brief*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2001, 80-81.
68. Vitr. VII.4.1-5.
 69. See H. von Prott and W. Kolbe, 'Astynomeion Inscription, col. III', *AM* 27 (1902) 47.
 70. See p. 240.
 71. See pp. 278-280.
 72. See p. 297.
 73. See pp. 257-258.
 74. See pp. 290-293.
 75. See p. 189.
 76. See pp. 190-191.
 77. See Staikos, *The History of the Library*, I, 278-279, 283-289.
 78. *Ibid.* 284, 288.
 79. *Ibid.* 379.
 80. See F. Castagnoli, 'Atrium Libertatis', *RAL*, ser. 8, 1 (1946) 276-291; P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut Empire. 1: Les monuments publics*, Paris, 2002², 363-364.
 81. Livy, XLIII.16.11-13.
 82. Gros, *L'architecture romaine. 1: Les monuments publics*, 363.
 83. See Staikos, *The History of the Library*, I, 201.
 84. It is said that Chrysippus may have known Caesar personally (around 40 B.C.), and quite possibly he was commissioned to design some public buildings in Rome, including the Basilica Julia: see Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic*, Oxford, 1969, 134. This being the case, Pollio probably engaged Chrysippus to rebuild the Atrium Libertatis and the twin libraries.
 85. See p. 184.
 86. Prop., *Eleg.* II.31.5.
 87. See pp. 137-139.
 88. See R. Cassanelli, M. David, E. de Albentis and Annie Jacques, *Ruins of Ancient Rome: The Drawings of French Architects who Won the Prix de Rome 1786-1924*, ed. M. David, tr. T. M. Hartmann, Los Angeles, 2002, 160.
 89. On Rabirius and his relations with Domitian see p. 184.
 90. See Cassanelli et al., *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, 119; also p. 134 herein.
 91. See J. Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2. århundrede e Chr.*, Copenhagen, 1976, 91; on the roof trusses see J.-P. Adam, *Roman Building: Materials and Techniques*, tr. A. Matheus, London/New York, 2001², 205-213.
 92. In his book Clark outlines the history of the finding of a private library in Rome by Lanciani in 1883 and reproduces a sketch of an escutcheon-shaped decorative mural painting with the name of Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia, a Neoplatonist philosopher of the first century A.D., inscribed in its bordure. See J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books: An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the earliest times to the end of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1901, 23-24.
 93. See p. 344.
 94. See p. 132.
 95. See p. 83.
 96. Tac., *Ann.* II.37.2-3. Presumably he was writing about the period when Augustus convened the Senate in the Palatine Library, as attested by Suetonius in *Divus Augustus*, XXIX.3.
 97. Tac., *Ann.* II.83.4-5. See also S. Weinstock, 'The Image and the Chair of Germanicus', *JRS* 47 (1957) 144-146.
 98. Suet., *Tiberius* LXX.2-3. See also p. 140 herein.
 99. Pliny, *Epist.* I.16.8.
 100. Pliny, *Epist.* III.7.8.
 101. See p. 202 on the statue of the grammarian Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus.
 102. Juv., *Sat.* II.4-7.

103. Vitruvius (*De arch.*, VII.Praef.7) refers to the bookcases in the Ptolemies' Universal Library in Alexandria as *armaria*, and Pliny the Younger (*Epist.* II.17.8) uses the same word for the bookcases in his own private library: *adnectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curvatum, fenestris omnibus sequitur. Parieti eius in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros sed lectitandos capit.* Here Pliny is obviously referring to a built-in cupboard which he used as a bookcase, but in other cases the *armaria* are described as being attached to the wall or free-standing. See Digest. XXXII.52.7a: *plane si mihi proponas adhaerentia esse membro armaria vel adfixa, sine dubio non debentur, cum aedificii portio sint.*

Scrinia were used either for filing away correspondence or for arranging books in order, as we are informed by Sallust (*Cat.* XLVI.6: *Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris quas a legatis acceperat eodem adferre iubet*) and by Seneca (*Dial.* IV.23.4: *cum scrinia deprendisset epistularum ad Cn. Pompeium missarum*). As already mentioned (see pp. 76-77), Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat.* XXV.3.6-7) states that Pompey acquired a *scrinium* containing the medical books of Mithradates VI of Pontus.

It was evidently as a bookcase that the *loculamentum*, too, was used. This was an item of furniture built into the wall and often extending right up to the ceiling, as described by Seneca (*Dial.* IX.9.7): *videbis quicquid orationum historicarumque est, tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta.* Lastly, small recesses in the walls, like dovecotes with marble or wooden shelves, were used for the storage of small collections of books. Such a bank of pigeonholes was called a *forulus*

or *nidus*. Juvenal (III.219: *hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam*) and Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* XXXI.1: *condidit ... (libros Sibyllinos) duobus forulis auratis*) both use the former word. Martial (*Epigr.* VII.17.5) prefers the term *nidus*: *ruris bibliotheca delicati, / vicinam videt unde lector urbem, / inter carmina sanctiora si quis / lascivae fuerit locus Thaliae, / hos nido licet inseras vel imo, / septem quos tibi misimus libellos.*

For discussions of the construction and use of *armaria* during the Roman period, see E.G. Budde, *Armarium und Κιβωτός, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Mobiliars*, Würzburg, 1940; C.E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*, Chicago, 1915, 27; Lora Lee Johnson, *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to their Architectural Form*, UMI (1984), 152-156. The same subject is also dealt with by W. Hoepfner in his chapter entitled 'Ein Ausstellung mit nachgebauten griechischen Bibliotheksmöbeln', in W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Antike Bibliotheken*, Mainz am Rhein, 2002, 5-8. All these mention the wooden *armaria* preserved in various villas and houses at Herculaneum and Pompeii, as well as folding doors which call to mind the methods of making *armarium* doors. See also Adam, *Roman Building*, 295.

104. See A. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1962, 187.
105. See H. Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, tr. Kathrin Simon, Ithaca, N.Y., 1966, 23.
106. See K. Clarke, 'Architectural Backgrounds in Renaissance Pictures', *JRIBA* 41/1 (1933-1934) 235.
107. See H. G. Beyen, *Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil*, The Hague, 1938.

108. See Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, Pl. 28.
109. *Ibid.*, Pl. 27.
110. *Ibid.*, Pl. 16.
111. On baroque architecture in antiquity see esp. Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*; W. L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II: An Urban Appraisal*, New Haven/London, 1986, 221-247.
112. See G. Pesce, *Il Palazzo delle Colonne in Tolemaide*, Rome, 1950; Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 53-55.
113. See G. Wright, 'The Khasne', *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, VI-VII (1962) 36-44; Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 70-83.
114. See Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 87-96, 193-195.
115. See Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 257-272.
116. Vitr. VII.5.5-6.
117. See Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 25, 35, 55.
118. See pp. 237-239.
119. See pp. 237-238.
120. See pp. 281-284.
121. See K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1890-1892; Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, Pl. 182.
122. See A. La Regina, 'Apollodoro di Damasco e le origini del Barocco', in *Adriano. Architettura e Progetto*, Milano, 2000, 9; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, Darmstadt, 1996², 122.
123. See G. Becatti, *Arte e gusto negli scrittori latini*, Florence, 1951, 249; Jocelyn Mary Catherine Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, 14-15; O. Paribeni, 'Apollodoro di Damasco', *Atti della reale Accademia d'Italia, Rendiconti*, 7.4 (1943) 129; Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 68; La Regina, 'Apollodoro', 9.
124. See pp. 120 ff.
125. See also pp. 204, 264.
126. See pp. 136, 136-137 and 71, 138 respectively.
127. See p. 264.
128. See p. 264.
129. See S. Panciera, 'Tiberius Iulius Zoili filius Fabia Pappus', *Epigraphica* 31 (1969) 112 ff.
130. *CIL* VIII 20684, XIV 535².
131. The title of *promus librorum* is known from Apuleius (*Apol.* LIII), who probably uses it facetiously since the word *promus* meant a household steward or butler.
132. A *columbarium* was a small recess in the wall of a tomb chamber, designed to hold two funerary urns. The *columbaria* resembled dove-cotes, from which they took their name.
133. See G. Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes*, Roma, 1952 (= *CIL* VI 5188, *CIL* VI 5884).
134. *CIL* VI 8907.
135. See p. 140.
136. *Hist. Aug.: Tacitus* VIII.1. On the *indices* see p. 212, n. 45.
137. See p. 235.
138. Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem* IV.5.

PRIMARY SOURCES – ABBREVIATIONS
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- Ael. Arist., *Panath.* = Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaicus*
 Amm. Marc. = Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*
 Apul., *Apol.* = Apuleius, *Apologia*
 Apul., *Flor.* = Apuleius, *Florida*
 Aug., *De civ. Dei* = Augustine, *De civitate Dei*
 Cat. = Catullus, *Carmina*
 Cic., *Acad.* = Cicero, *Academica posteriora*
 Cic., *Ad Att.* = Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*
 Cic., *Ad fam.* = Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*
 Cic., *Ad Quint. Frat.* = Cic., *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*
 Cic., *Arch.* = Cicero, *Pro Archia poeta*
 Cic., *Brut.* = Cicero, *Ad M. Brutum*
 Cic., *De amic.* = Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia*
 Cic., *De fin.* = Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*
 Cic., *De leg.* = Cicero, *De legibus*
 Cic., *De orat.* = Cicero, *De oratore*
 Cic., *De re pub.* = Cicero, *De re publica*
 Cic., *Div.* = Cicero, *De divinatione*
 Cic., *Opt. gen.* = Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*
 Cic., *Phil.* = Cicero, *Orationes philippicae*
 Dig. = *Digesta*
 Dio Cassius = Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*
 Diod. Sic., *Bibl.* = Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*
 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* = Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*
 Gell., *Noct. Att.* = Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*
 Hist. Aug. = *Historia Augusta*
 Hor., *Ars poet.* = Horace, *Ars poetica*
 Hor., *Carm.* = Horace, *Carmina*
 Hor., *Epist.* = Horace, *Epistulae*
 Hor., *Sat.* = Horace, *Saturae*
 Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* = Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*
 Juv., *Sat.* = Juvenal, *Satirae*
 Livy = Livy, *Ab urbe condita*
 Macr., *Sat.* = Macrobius, *Saturnalia*
 Marc. Aur., *Ad Front.* = Marcus Aurelius, *Ad Frontonem*
 Mart., *Epigr.* = Martial, *Epigrammata*

Nepos, *Atticus* = Cornelius Nepos, *De viris illustribus: Atticus*
 Ov., *Trist.* = Ovid, *Tristia*
 Paus. = Pausanias, *Hellados periegesis (Description of Greece)*
 Pliny, *Epist.* = Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*
 Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* = Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*
 Plut., *Aem. Paul.* = Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*
 Plut., *Luc.* = Plutarch, *Lucullus*
 Plut., *M. Cato* = Plutarch, *Marcus Cato*
 Plut., *Marc.* = Plutarch, *Marcellus*
 Plut., *Mor.* = Plutarch, *Moralia*
 Plut., *Pomp.* = Plutarch, *Pompeius*
 Plut., *Popl.* = Plutarch, *Poplicola*
 Plut., *Ti. Gr.* = Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*
 Polyb. = Polybius, *Historia*
 Prop., *Eleg.* = Propertius, *Elegiae*
 Quint., *Inst.* = Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*
 Sall., *Cat.* = Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*
 Seneca, *Contr.* = Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae*
 Seneca, *De benef.* = Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis*
 Seneca, *De clem.* = Seneca the Younger, *De clementia*
 Seneca, *Dial.* = Seneca the Younger, *Dialogi*
 Strabo = Strabo, *Geographica*
 Suet. = Suetonius
 Suet., *De gram.* = Suetonius, *De grammaticis*
 Suet., *De rhet.* = Suetonius, *De rhetoribus*
 Suet., *Div. Aug.* = Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*
 Suet., *Div. Jul.* = Suetonius, *Divus Julius*
 Suet., *Div. Vesp.* = Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*
 Tac., *Ann.* = Tacitus, *Annales*
 Tac., *Dial. Orat.* = Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*
 Tac., *Hist.* = Tacitus, *Historiae*
 Ter., *Eun.* = Terence, *Eunuchus*
 Ter., *Hec.* = Terence, *Hecyra*
 Varro, *De ling. lat.* = Varro, *De lingua latina*
 Varro, *De re rust.* = Varro, *De re rustica*
 Vitruv. = Vitruvius, *De architectura*

ABBREVIATIONS

AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*

AAWW = *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos. Hist. Klasse*

AD = *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJPh = *American Journal of Philology*

AM = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung)*

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*

Atti Accad. dei Lincei = *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*

AUB = *Annales Universitatis Budapestensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio classica*

AvP = *Altertümer von Pergamon*

BAGB = *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé*

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

BJ = *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, Kevelaer*

BSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*

Bull. Comm. = *Bullettino/Commissione Archeologica Municipale Comunale di Roma*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1963-

CJ = *The Classical Journal*, Athens, University of Georgia

Class. Journal = *Classical Journal*

Cph = *Classical Philology*

CQ = *Classical Quarterly*

ΕΕΦΣΠΘ = *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*

Geertman & DeJong (1989) = H. Geertman and J.J. DeJong (eds.), *Munus non ingratum. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture* (Leiden 20-23 January, 1987). *Bulletin Antike Beschaving* (Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology), Supplement 2, Leiden, 1989

GIF = *Giornale Italiano di Filologia*

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

GRF = *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, vol. I, ed. H. (= G.) Funaioli, 1907 (the years

before Varro, the period of Varro and Augustus); continued in A. Mazzarino, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, Augustae Taurinorum, 1955

HRR = H. Peter (ed.), *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae*, I, 1914², II, 1906¹, repr. with bibliography by J. Kroymann, Stuttgart, 1967

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873

JDAI = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

JdI Erg = *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Ergänzungsheft*

JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRIBA = *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

JS = *Journal des Savants*

MAAR = *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*

MAL = *Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell' Accad. dei Lincei*

MDAI (R) = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)*

MEFR(A) = *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*

MH = *Museum Helveticum*

NBCF = *National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation*

NJA = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*

N.S. = *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*

ÖJh = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*

ΠΑΕ = *Πρακτικὰ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*

PapOxy = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt et al., 56 vols. to date, London, 1898-1989

PBSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*

Phoenix = *Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*

*PIR*² = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III*, 1st edn.: E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897-1898); 2nd edn.: E. Groag, A. Stein et al. (1933-)

RAAN = *Rendiconti dell' Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*

RAC = *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*

RAL = *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell' Accad. dei Lincei*

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ABBREVIATIONS
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RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

RFIC = *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*

RhM (*Rhein. Mus.*) = *Rheinisches Museum*

RM = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)*

RPAA = *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*

SHA = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*

SIFC = *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*

TAPhA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

UMI = *University Microfilms International*

Würzburger Jahrbücher = *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*

WS = *Wiener Studien*

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